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MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS VINDICATED.

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AND

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IN THREE VOLUMES.

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CHAPTER THE FIRST.

§ I.

HAVING now gone over the EXTERNAL evidence for the forgery of the Letters, Contracts, and Sonnets, I addreſs myſelf to the examination of the INTERNAL. This I hope to place equally in ſome new points of view. I ſhall be the better able to do ſo, by having examined the other before. I ſhall, therefore, preſent my reader with a copy of the Sonnets, Letters, and Contracts, in the languages in which they were originally publiſhed. To each of them I ſhall ſubjoin a variety of remarks, in order to point out the numerous ſignatures of forgery in the belly of them. By this mode of inquiſition, a new train of witneſſes will appear at the bar before us. Theſe

will depoſe to circumſtances, of a very different nature from all that we have ſeen before. But they will completely coincide with them. They will be equally deciſive evidences of the forgery, I think. And they will ſuperadd, I truſt, a ſecond demonſtration to the firſt.

I ſhall print the Letters and Sonnets from Mr. Goodall's edition of them. It is a ſtandard one in itſelf. He had conſulted the original editions, in making it*. But I ſhall note a few variations in Mr. Anderſon's copy, which I think to be of moment. And, as Mr. Goodall firſt formed the paragraphs in ſome of the Letters, and firſt numbered the diviſions in the Sonnets; I ſhall ſo far improve upon his plan, as to form paragraphs in all the Letters; to break the diviſions into ſtanzas in the Sonnets, for the more commodious reading of them; and to number the paragraphs in the Letters, for the facility of referring to them. The laſt is peculiarly requiſite to be done, in the firſt of the Letters. This runs out into all the length of one of Richardſon's converſational epiſtles. Only there is an infinite difference between the two, in every other reſpect. Richardſon's are ſtrikingly characteriſtick; full of ſpirit, and pregnant with intelligence. But this carries no light of intelligence within it. This contains no ſparks of ſpirit in it. And it is one complete violation of character, from the beginning to the end of it.

* Goodall, i. 39.

§ II. LET-

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LETTER THE FIRST (1).

I.—" (2) Being departit from the place quhair " I left my hart (3), it is eſie to be judgeit quhat " was my countenance, ſeing that I was evin als " mekle as (4) ane body without ane hart; quhilk " was the occaſioun that quhile denner-tyme (5) " I held"

I.—" (2) Poſteaquam ab eo loco diſceſſi, ubi " reliqueram cor meum (3), facilis eſt conjectura " qui meus fuerit vultus, cùm planè perinde eſſem " atque (4) corpus ſine corde: ea fuit cauſa cur " toto prandii tempore (5) neque contulerim"

I.—" (2) Eſtant partie du lieu ou j'avoye laiſſée " mon cœur (3), il ſe peut aiſement juger quelle " eſtoit ma contenance, veu ce que peut (4) un " corps ſans cœur; qui a eſté cauſe que juſques " a la diſnée (5) je n'ay pas tenue"

(1) This Letter pretends to be written, with the three next, on Jan. 24—26th, 1567, and from Glaſgow*.

(2) The Queen left Edinborough on Jan. 21, attended by Huntly and BOTHWELL. Theſe peers went with her to Kalendar, a ſeat of Lord Living-

* Rebel Journal in App. No. x.

ſton's

ſton's near Falkirk. And on Jan. 23 ſhe went on to Glaſgow, while they returned to Edinborough*.

(3) Kalendar, where ſhe and Bothwell parted that morning.

(4) This emphatical word "evin," Scotch, is rendered in Latin by "planè," which carries a different meaning, and in the French by nothing at all. But the ſubſequent words "als mekle as," truly rendered in Latin "perinde atque," are turned in French into "ce que peut.' This, ſays Dr. Robertſon very juſtly, "is by no means a "tranſlation" of the Latin†. A tranſlation, however, it undoubtedly is of the Scotch; and, as the tranſlator himſelf aſſures us, through the medium of this or another copy in Latin. Of *this* it apparently is not. It is, therefore, of ſome other. And this other had rendered the words "als mekle "as" by *quantum potuit*, I ſuppoſe; interpreting the words to mean *as much as could be*, and ſo giving them an import much more emphatical than "perinde atque."

(5) "Juſques a la diſnée," ſays Dr. Robertſon, "is not a tranſlation of "'toto prandii tempore;'" "the Scottiſh tranſlation "'quhile denner-tyme'" "expreſſes the ſenſe of the French more properly; "for anciently *quhile* ſignified *until* as well as "*during*‡." Dr. Robertſon has here confounded his own ideas. If *quhile* "anciently ſignified *until* "as well as *during*," then the expreſſion "quhile

* Rebel Journal in App. No. x. † Diſſ. 32. ‡ Ibid.

"denner-

" denner-tyme" may as properly be rendered " juſques a la diſnée," as " toto prandii tempore;" and the Scotch cannot " expreſs the ſenſe of the " French more properly" than the Latin. This is plain, from the Doctor's own principles. And the very reaſon adduced by himſelf, turns with forcibleneſs againſt him.

But, though *quhile* was ſometimes uſed by the Scots formerly for *until*, as well as *during*; yet ordinarily it muſt have ſignified the latter only. It is merely the Engliſh *while*, and muſt therefore have ordinarily borne the ſignification of it. And *quhill* or *quhil*, which anſwer to our Engliſh *till* or *until*, muſt conſequently import the ſame as they generally. Yet the Scotch Detection of Buchanan uſes *quhill* for *while* in the firſt part of it, *quhile* for *while* in the laſt, and even *quhile* for *until* in one place †. Ordinarily, however, and with the natural preciſion, *quhill* or *quhil* imported *until*, and *quhile* ſignified *during*. So, in the Confeſſions at the end of the Detection, one man ſays, " I " knew nathing *quhill* I hard the blaſt of powder, " and efter yis he come hame, lay down in his " bed, *quhil* M. George Haket come ‡." So alſo the Detection itſelf ſpeaks of " ane *quhyle*," " all " this *quhyle*," and " the *quhyle* ‖." But the Letters, as containing Lethington's language probably, are ſteadily and uniformly right. In the preſent,

† P. 4, 7, 12, 23, 35, and 45, *quhill* for *while*; 70, 73, 74, and 77, *quhile* for *while*; and 182, *quhile* for *until*. Anderſon, ii. ‡ Ibid. ii. 162. ‖ P. 14 and 31, 16 and 34, and 63.

the King is said to deny something, "*quhill* I schew "him the verray wordis *." She had worked, Mary is made to say, "*quhill* it was twa houris upon this "bracelet †." Bothwell "will never be blyth," says Livingston, "*quhill* he sé zow agane." Mary vows fidelity to Bothwell "*quhill* deith," and speaks of something that "sall not part furth of "my bosum, *quhill* yat mariage of our bodyis be "maid in publict." She is likewise requested by the King, she says, "to remane upon him *quhil* "uther morne ‡." And here she tells us, with the requisite distinctiveness in the orthography and in the meaning, that "*quhile* denner-tyme" she talked to nobody.

This ascertains sufficiently the true import of the word here. Mary is represented as leaving Bothwell that morning with a sorrowful heart, as journeying to dinner with a discontented countenance, and even as eating her dinner in sullen silence. Where she dined, does not appear. Kilsyth most probably was the place, about 27 miles from Kalendar through Stirling, and 15 from Glasgow. There she was so apparently chagrined all the time of dinner, that none of the gentlemen and ladies in the town or neighbourhood would venture into the room, to pay their respects of duty to her while she was dining.

This passage, therefore, overthrows the very point for which Dr. Robertson produces it. *Quhile* very plainly does *not* signify *until*. The word

* Sect. xi. † Sect. xxiii. ‡ Sect. xxii. and xxiv, and Letter viii. Sect. iii.

for

for that, in these Letters, is *quhill* or *quhil*. *Quhile* signifies here, as *while* does among ourselves, only *during*. The Latin " toto prandii tempore" is exactly correspondent to the Scotch " quhile dennertyme." The French " jusques a la disnée" is greatly deviating from it. The French was led into the mistake by a corrected copy of Buchanan's Latin, which took the word *quhile*, as Dr. Robertson has taken it, for *quhil* or *till*; and so rendered the passage *usque ad prandium*. And let me close this train of verbal criticisms, into which the Doctor has drawn me, with a remark that turns the whole with still greater force against him. *All serve to prove the originality of the Scotch copy*. The similarity of *quhil* and *quhile* has occasioned this confusion. The original Latin read it *quhile*. The corrected Latin read it *quhil*. The French followed the latter. And the French, the Latin, the corrected and the original Latin, plainly derived their variation, mediately or immediately, from a SCOTCH reading in the common original of all.

" purpois (1) to na body; nor zit (2) durst (3)
" ony presént thameselfis unto me, judging yat"

" sermonem (1) cum quoquam, neque (2) quis-
" quam se offerre mihi sit ausus (3), ut qui"

" grand propos (1); aussi (2) personne ne s'est
" voulu (3) avancer, jugeant bien"

(1) The French has interpolated the word " grand," and has materially altered the sense by

it, allowing the Queen to *have* talked, and ſo contradicting the Latin and the Scotch.

(2) The energetick "zit" or *yet* is omitted by the Latin, but is preſerved in the French "auſſi" or *moreover*. This is another proof of the French tranſlation not being made from the preſent Latin, but from a corrected copy of it.

(3) The French "voulu" is foreign to the ſenſe. The Scotch "durſt," anſwered in the Latin "auſus," required *oſé*. And the French has omitted the requiſite words *au moi*, in anſwer to the Latin "mihi" and the Scotch "unto me."

"it was not gude ſa to do (1)."

"id non eſſe ex uſu (1)."

"qu'il n'y faiſoit bon (1)."

(1) "Jugeant bien qu'il n'y faiſoit bon," ſays Dr. Robertſon*, is not a tranſlation of the Latin "ut qui judicarent id non eſſe ex uſu." In this he has been joined by the Miſcellaneous Remarker, who affirms that the Latin "is not ſenſe, and is "not even conſiſtent with the Scottiſh copy †." I was puzzled, at the firſt reading, to know what it was that occaſioned this remark in both. But neither of them, it ſeems, was acquainted with the idiomatical ſenſe of the expreſſion "ex uſu." Such criticks are they in the Latin language! And

* Diſſ. 32. † P. 13.

hence

hence the French became different from the Latin in one of them, and the Latin proved inconſiſtent with the Scotch in the other.

Thus ends, however, the firſt of the three ſentences, that Dr. Robertſon pitched upon in an unfortunate moment, as the only viſible relicks of his own imaginary original in French; and as having a "ſpirit," and an "elegance," which neither the Latin nor the Scotch have retained*. But the Doctor has forgotten to ſupport his hypotheſis, by pointing out either the "ſpirit" or the "elegance" of any particular clauſes in it. He has only taken two of the blunders in it, "juſques "a la diſnée," and "je n'ay pas tenu *grand* pro-"pos;" and turned them into graces, by producing them as proofs of a non-tranſlation, becauſe—they are deviations from the Latin and the Scotch. He has then added one of his own, in fancying "jugeant bien qu'il n'y faiſoit bon" to be different in ſignification from "ut qui judicarent id "non eſſe ex uſu." And he has cited the words "veu ce que peut," as different from the Latin, becauſe they are more emphatical, and as ſuperiour to the Scotch, when they are plainly derived from them through the corrected Latin. Nor has he taken any notice of two other blunders in the French, in the ſubſtitution of "voulu" for *oſé*, and in the omiſſion of *au moi* entirely. He did not obſerve them. If he had, he would have turned the deformities again into beauties. They would have been equally valid arguments, for a

* Diſſ. 32.

non-

non-tranſlation of the French from either the Latin or the Scotch. And they would have equally ſerved, to give a "ſpirit" and an "elegance" to the French, which neither the Scotch nor the Latin have been able to reach.

Of this, of the "elegance" at leaſt, the Miſcellaneous Remarker comes forward to preſent us with one inſtance, though the Doctor had furniſhed us with none. His inſtance is a ſingular ſpecimen of a ſpirit trifling, injudicious, and prejudiced. The Latin uſes the word "vultus;" the French renders it "contenance." I ſelect the two words that he has Italiciſed himſelf. And the French is *very ſeriouſly* aſſerted to be "*much* ſuperior in "*elegance* and *accuracy*" to the Latin. The Remarker then proceeds to note another inſtance, not indeed of "ſpirit," not indeed of "elegance," in the French; but merely of "accuracy." The Latin ſays "ſe offerre," the French "s'avancer." The Latin is affirmed not to "expreſs the mean-"ing" of the French, becauſe "the Queen is here "made to ſpeak of what happened on the road "and before dinner." But this is only a continuation of Dr. Robertſon's miſtake. She is ſpeaking of her conduct "quhile denner-tyme." And, even if ſhe had not, "s'avancer" might as well expreſs the advance of a perſon into a room, as the approach of a perſon upon a road.

On the whole, therefore, this firſt ſentence of Dr. Robertſon's original French, gives us no exalted ideas of the original itſelf. The latter may reſt in that Elyſium into which the Doctor has transferred it, without raiſing one ſigh in our boſoms

ſoms for the loſs. It carries indeed all the ſignatures with it, of being the very ſame with the French copy yet on earth, and of being as *erroneous* and as *abſurd* as that. And, what is peculiarly unfortunate for the Doctor and the Remarker together, a ſingle ſentence only, which has been picked out by both as a proof of a French copy, ſuperiour in ſpirit, in elegance, and in accuracy to the Latin and the Scotch, has proved upon examination to have only one ſingle grain of ſpirit more than the others, to have not even one more of elegance, and, as to accuracy, to have actually one interpolation, one omiſſion, one impropriety, and one abſurdity, in it.

II.—"Four myle (1) or I came to the towne (2), " ane gentilman of the Erle of Lennox (3) came " and maid his commendatiounis unto me (4);

II.—"Ad quatuor paſſuum millia (1) antequam " ad oppidum (2) acceſſiſſem, homo honeſto loco " natus a Comite Leviniæ (3) ad me venit, atque " ejus nomine ſalutavit (4);"

II.—"Eſtant encor a quatre mille pas (1) de la " ville (2), vint a moy un gentilhomme envoyé " par le Conte de Lenos (3), qui me ſalva en ſon " nom (4);"

(1) "Four myle," Scotch, "quatuor paſſuum " millia," Latin, and "quatre mille pas," French. The French has here ſo ſervilely followed the Latin,

tin, as to violate the proprieties of its own language. The Romans originally uſed the words *mille paſſuum* for a mile. But, as was ſure to be the caſe, in time they uſed the greater word, and dropt the leſſer. Their provincials, of courſe, adopted the language of their maſters. And *mille* without *paſſuum* became the familiar term for a mile, in all the languages of Weſtern Europe. Yet the French tranſlator ſo little attended to this, that he followed the Latin implicitly; and, as this had "quatuor millia paſſuum," he ſet down "quatre mille pas," even though the French had for ages expreſſed the general idea, in the ſame manner that we have, by the word *mile*.

(2) Mr. Anderſon ſays, in order to cenſure Mary, that "the reſidence of the Earl of Lennox "at that time was near Dunbarton *." Yet the very papers, then before him, ſhew the Earl to have reſided equally at Glaſgow †. And at Glaſgow did he *generally* reſide; as this city is expreſsly called by the Privy Council of Scotland, "the "ordinary place of his abode ‡."

(3) This was Thomas Crawford ‖, an active and gallant man in thoſe times of confuſion, and particularly diſtinguiſhed by his bold ſurprize of Dumbarton Caſtle for the rebels §. But the French copy here appears to have followed a corrected copy of the Latin; the affected "Leviniæ" of Buchanan, which is derived from the original orthography of

* Anderſ. i. lx. † Ibid. and ii. 101. ‡ Keith, 348.
‖ Goodall, ii. 245, 246, and 247. § Crawford, 188.

the

the name, *Levenox*, having been altered into *Lenoxiæ*, and the French therefore giving us "Lenos."

(4) "Maid his commendatiounis unto me." This phraſe, ſays Mr. Tytler *, is *ſtill uſed in the Scottiſh language* to ſignify *he preſented his compliments*. Yet the Miſcellaneous Remarker obſerves †, that "to ſay *faites mes recommendations a un tel*, is more "certainly French, than *make my commendatiouns* is "Scottiſh. *Commender*, no doubt, may be employed "abuſively in French for *recommender*; and ſo "perhaps *commendatiouns* may be employed in the "Scottiſh language for *recommendatiouns*; but "there occurs no ſingularity of idiom here; the "phraſe *to do commendations* is in Ainſworth's Eng-"liſh and Latin Dictionary, and is explained to "mean *aliquem ſalvere jubere*; and yet it has a "very French air." The captiouſneſs and the feebleneſs of this gentleman's criticiſms, are ſtrongly exemplified together here. He would make the idiom a French one, in oppoſition to Mr. Tytler. Yet he proves it an Engliſh one, in oppoſition to himſelf. And he concludes with aſſerting, in oppoſition to both, that it has "a very French air." The fact is, that it is a mode of expreſſion purely Scotch and Engliſh; but that it is ſimilar to, though not the ſame with, a mode of expreſſion in the French language. It was a cuſtomary idiom of compliment in all letters at that period, both in England and in Scotland ‡.—But the adherence of

* P. 88. † P. 22, 23. ‡ Goodall, ii. 153, 161, 178, 375, &c. It is derived from "recommendations," uſed in Sadler's Letters, 156, which in 242, 394, and 440, is "commendations."

the

the French to the Latin is very close here. " Ejus " nomine salutavit" is re-echoed in " salva en " son nom."

" and (1) excusit him (2) that he came not to " meit me, be ressoun he durst not interpryse (3) " the same, because of the rude wordis that I had " spokin to Cuninghame (4): and he desyrit that " he suld come to the inquisitioun (5) of ye mat- " ter yat I suspectit him of (6). This last speik- " ing (7) was of his awin heid, without ony com- " missioun (8)."

" (1) excusavit Comitem (2), quòd non ipse ob- " viam processisset, id enim quò minùs auderet (3), " in causâ fuisse, quòd verbis asperioribus Cuni- " gamium [Cuningamium] (4) compellâssem. " Petivit etiam ut inquirerem (5) de suspicione " meâ adversus Comitem (6). Postrema hæc ser- " monis pars (7) ab ipso, injussu Comitis, erat " adjecta (8)."

" et (1) l' (2) excusa de ce qu'il ne m'estoit " venu au devant, disant, qu'il ne l'avoit osé en- " treprendre (3), a cause que j'avoye tensé Cu- " ningham (4) avec paroles aigres. Il me de- " manda aussi que je m'enquisse (5) de soupçon " que j'avoye contre iceluy Conte (6). Ceste " derniere partie de son dire (7) avoit esté adjoustée " par luy, sans que le Conte luy eust com- " mandé (8)."

(1) " *And* excusit," Scotch; " excusavit," Latin, without the connecting word; " *et* excusa," French,

French, with it. This is another proof, that the French was not tranſlated from the preſent Latin, but (as I have already ſhewn) from another verſion in Latin, one that had all the eight Letters in it.

(2) "Excuſed *him*," Scotch; "excuſavit *Comi-* "*tem*," Latin; and "*l'*excuſa," French. This is another proof of the ſame point.

(3) "Durſt not interpryſe," "quò minùs au- "deret," "ne l'avoit oſé entreprendre." This is another. And the remarkable coincidence in *one* word muſt be purely caſual, as the French tranſlator was totally ignorant of the Scotch language. We have an inſtance of the like before, in the Scotch "countenance," the Latin "vultus," and the French "contenance." There are alſo ſeveral others afterwards, which are not worth a particular notice. This one remark will ſuffice for all.

(4) This is Robert Cunningham, who appeared at the trial of Bothwell, and in the Earl of Lenox's name proteſted againſt the proſecution of it.

(5) Here the turn of the Latin, by which it has avoided the idiomatick obſcurity of the Scotch, is cloſely copied by the French.

(6) The matter here hinted at is the Queen's ſuſpicion of Lenox's concern in the murder of Rizzio. "The Earl," ſays Randolph in a letter dated April 4, 1566, "continueth ſick, ſore trou- "bled in mind; he ſtaith in the Abby," Holy-rood-houſe; "his ſon hath been once with him, "and he once with the Queen, ſince ſhe came to

" the Caſtle" of Edinborough *. But this very alluſion proves the forgery. The murder had been committed in *March*. The Earl, whom ſhe ſuſpected of concern in it, had been reſiding in his apartments within the Palace ever ſince, and had even been to pay his reſpects to her ſince ſhe went from the Palace to the Caſtle. She muſt therefore have intimated her ſuſpicion to *him*, rather than to his ſervant Cunningham. And in the *January* following it is abſolutely ridiculous to ſuppoſe, that ſhe had *lately* uttered her ſuſpicion to the ſervant, and that the Earl was *now* afraid to come and ſee her becauſe of it. He had already ſeen her, even in April before. He had ſeen her at the Palace, probably. He had ſeen her in the Caſtle, certainly †.

But the conduct of the three copies here is remarkable. The Scotch, in its uſual ſtile of colloquial indiſtinctneſs, ſpeaks only of " him;" the Latin very properly ſubſtitutes " Comitem;" and the French accordingly ſpecifies " iceluy Conte."

(7) " This laſt ſpeiking," " poſtrema hæc ſer-" monis pars," " ceſte derniere partie de ſon dire." The French is only the Latin repeated.

(8) Here the departure of the Latin from the language of the original, and the adherence of the French to the Latin, are equally obſervable.

* Robertſon, ii. 359.

† This letter of Randolph's refutes Foſter's from *Berwick*, in Robertſon, ii. 360.

III.—" I anſwerit to him, that thair was na " receipt culd ſerve aganis feir, and that he wald " not be affrayit, in cace he wer not culpabill (1); " and that I anſwerit bot rudely to the doutis yat " wer in his letteris (2). Summa, I maid him hald " his tongue (3). The reſt wer lang to wryte (4). " Schir James Hammiltoun met me, quha ſchawit, " that the uther tyme quhen he [Lenox] hard of " my"

III.—" Ego reſpondi, nullam adverſus timorem " eſſe medicinam; neque, ſi extra culpam eſſet (1), " tam meticuloſum futurum; neque me, niſi ad " dubitationes quæ in ejus literis erant, aſperiùs " reſpondiſſe (2). In ſummâ, impoſui homini ſilen- " tium (3). Longum eſſet cetera perſcribere (4). " D. Jacobus Hamiltonius mihi obviam venit; is " oſtendit ſuperiore tempore, cúm de"

III.—" Je reſponduy, qu'il n'y avoit point de " remede contre la crainte; et que, s'il eſtoit hors " de faute (1), il ne ſeroit pas tant timide; et que " je n'avoye point reſpondu aſprement ſinon aux " doutes, qui eſtoient en ſes lettres (2). En ſomme, " j'impoſay ſilence au perſonnage (3). Il ſeroit " long deſcrire tout le reſt (4). Le Seigneur Jaques " Hambleton vint au devant de moy, lequel me " declara, qu'auparavant"

(1) " Si extra culpam eſſet," Latin; " s'il eſtoit " hors de faute," French.

(2) In the *preceding* paragraph, Lenox is repreſented as ſuſpected of the murder of Rizzio, and Mary is intimated to have *therefore* treated Cunningham ſharply. The earl, ſays Crawford, durſt not wait upon the queen, "becaus of the rude wordis "that I [Mary] had ſpokin to Cuninghame; and "he [Crawford] deſyrit that he [Lenox] ſuld come "to the inquiſitioun of ye matter yat I ſuſpectit "him of." The ſuſpicion and the rudeneſs are plainly connected together. The one is hinted to be the cauſe, and the other is inſinuated to be the effect. And common-ſenſe ſhews this to be the relation between them. Yet in the *preſent* paragraph, with that ſudden contradictorineſs of which we ſhall meet with other inſtances hereafter, the rudeneſs is no longer referred to the ſuſpicion, but is attributed to ſome doubts expreſſed by Lenox in ſome letter or letters of his to Mary.—I proceed however to conſider another particular.

Mary is ſaid before to *ſuſpect* Lenox. She here ſays, that "he wald not be affrayit in cace he wer "not *culpabill*." She therefore charges him with a ſhare in the murder. But all reſentment upon this account muſt have been long over, at preſent. She had pardoned even Lethington in the Auguſt before *. She had pardoned even Morton in the December following †. Yet theſe ſhe not merely ſuſpected; ſhe *knew* them to have been guilty of the murder. And would ſhe be ſtill perſecuting Lenox with *ſuſpicions*, when ſhe had overlooked and forgiven *abſolute certainties?* She undoubtedly would not.

* Keith, 345. † Ibid. 429. and Pref. xi.

Not

Nor did she persecute him at all. This is plain from a single fact. The king forming a design, as he said, to leave the kingdom in August or September 1566; Lenox was so far from considering himself as a persecuted man, that he wrote her Majesty a letter, which she received on September the 29th, and entreated her to use her influence with the king, in diverting him from his resolution. This was the act of a man, who was apparently in some habits of friendliness with the Queen.

But was that the letter, which is here alluded to? It certainly was not. There was no epistolary correspondence, indeed, carried on *ordinarily* betwixt the queen and him. There were only two periods in this part of their lives, at which they appear to have corresponded at all; the present, in consequence of the king's intention to go abroad, and a later one, in consequence of the king's murder. Of both correspondences we have a particular account. Nor were there any "doutes" expressed in the FORMER of them. This is clear from two accounts of it, written at the time. "The earl of Lenox," says Monsieur Le Croc, the French embassadour, in a letter of October 15th, "has written a letter to "the Queen, signifying that 'tis not in his power to "divert his son from his intended voyage; and "prays her Majesty to use her interest therein. This "letter from the Earl of Lenox, the Queen re-"ceived on Michaelmas-day in the morning.—"Early next morning the Queen sent for me, and "for all the Lords and other Counsellers.—The "Bishop of Ross, by the Queen's commandment, "declared to the council the King's intention;

" —and that her Majesty's information hereof pro-
" ceeded not from the rumour of the town, but
" from a letter written to her by his own father,
" the Earl of Lenox; *which letter was likewise*
" *read in the Council.*" " From Glasgow," adds the Privy Council in a formal memorial upon the subject, " my Lord Lenox wrote to the Queen,
" and acquainted her Majesty, that altho' he had
" endeavoured to divert him," the King, from going abroad, " he nevertheless had not the interest
" to make him alter his mind.—The Earl of Le-
" nox's letter came to the Queen's hand on St.
" Michael's day, and *her Majesty was pleased to im-*
" *part the same incontinent to the Lords of her Coun-*
" *cil*, in order to receive advice thereupon. And
" if her Majesty was surprized by this ADVER-
" TISEMENT from the Earl of Lenox; these Lords
" were no less astonished to understand, that the
" King should entertain any thoughts of depart-
" ing *." This letter therefore had no *doubts*. It was merely an *advertisement* of the King's intended departure.

What doubts indeed, and *of what*, could *any* letter from Lenox have expressed to the Queen *at present?* None certainly. Nor had any been actually expressed. This is clear from a real letter of hers, dated only three days before the present, speaking equally of the Earl of Lenox, speaking too in terms of blame against him; and yet resting her blame, not upon any *doubts* expressed in a letter or letters to her, not upon any *letter* whether with or without doubts in it, that had provoked her to

* Keith, 346, and 348.

use

uſe *rude words* to the bearer; but *upon his and his ſon's ſpeeches and contrivances againſt her.* "Al-
"wayis," ſays Mary on January the 20th, 1567, to her embaſſadour in France, "we perſave him
"[the King] occupeit and biſſy aneuch to haif in-
"quiſitioun of our doyngis, quhilkis, God willing,
"ſall ay be ſic as nane ſall haif occaſioun to be
"offendit with thame, or to report of us any wayis
"bot honorably; howſoever he, HIS FATHER, and
"thair fautoris, *ſpeik*; *quilkis*, we knaw, want na
"gude will to make us haif ado, gif thair power
"wer equivalent to thair myndis. But God mo-
"deratis thair forces well aneuch, and takis the
"moyen of executioun of thair pretenſis fra
"thame," &c.* At *this* time Mary had plainly received no letter of doubts from Lenox, and had been provoked by it to utter no rude words to the bearer. All the offence which ſhe had *yet* taken at Lenox, was grounded on his *ſpeeches*, and on his *cabals*, againſt her. And the writing, which ſpeaks of her having received ſuch a letter, and of her having uttered ſuch words in conſequence of it, is proved by the genuine writing to be a FORGERY.

The forgery indeed lies in an *anachroniſm*. The fabricator has *anticipated* a fact. He alludes to ſome letter or letters of *doubts*, which were *really* written by Lenox, but which were written *ſome weeks poſteriour* to the pretended date of the preſent. *After the murder of the king*, Lenox wrote the Queen more than one letter concerning it, in which the rebels thought there were ſome *doubts* expreſſed by

* Keith, Pref. viii.

Lenox, concerning Mary's sincerity in bringing the murderers to trial; as they induced Lenox himself to carry copies of two of his, and the originals of two of hers, and present them in form to the English commissioners, with a charge of murder against Mary; and as they afterwards procured the originals and copies of all the rest, and lodged them equally in the hands of Cecil *. These are dated February 20th, 21st, and 26th, March 1st, 17th, and 24th, and April the 11th. *All* these, however, cannot be alluded to here, because the allusion is to *one* only, to what was brought at one time and by one messenger, and to what the Queen answered with rude words to Cunningham. This therefore carries us to the *last* of them, that of April the 11th, the famous letter from Stirling; in which he, who had first desired her to call a parliament, *in order* to bring on the trial; and who had then desired her to hasten on the trial *before* the parliament met, "yis "matter not beinge ane parliament matter;" now requested her to *defer* the trial *to an indefinite time*. This was actually brought to her by "Cuning-"hame," while the others were all brought by we know not whom †. And *this* expresses *doubts* concerning her very plainly. "For your awin ho-"nour," says Lenox in it, "I desire you wauld "cauſs apprehend and put in suir keiping the "suspect persons namit," Bothwell, &c. "avoyd-"ing your Majestie's company of tham; for *it was* "*nevir hard of*, bot in the tryall of sic ane odious "fact, all suspectit personis was *alwayis* apprehendit,

* Anderson, i. 40—49. Contents, lix. and lx. and Goodall, ii. 208—209. † Ibid, i. 40, and 45. and ii. 106.

"*quhat*

" *quhat degre ſoever thai war of*;—utherwayis the " ſuſpect perſonis continewing ſtill at libertie, *being* " *gret in court*, and *about your Majeſtie's perſon*, " comforts and incouragis thame," &c. * On the receipt of this letter, Mary might poſſibly utter ſome harſh words to the bearer, Cunningham. This indeed was the only letter, for which ſhe could. And the forger has been wildly inattentive to dates, in alluding to a letter which was poſteriour to the very death of the King; and wildly confuſed in his ideas, in ſpeaking of the Queen's ſuſpicion of Lenox for the murder of Rizzio, and in alluding to Lenox's doubts of the Queen concerning the murder of Darnley, at a period BETWIXT both.

The fact was this. When the forger ſat down to his work of compoſing epiſtles for Mary, he had a void of time before him, which he muſt neceſſarily fill up with epiſtolary incidents. The letters muſt relate ſome things, in order to be letters. They muſt relate ſome circumſtances of her journey, her reception, and her converſation, in order to give a greater air of probability to them. And they muſt relate ſome particulars of her preſent conduct, and of her future deſigns, in order to bear a charge of adultery and of murder upon them. Theſe incidents, therefore, muſt all be either picked up by intelligence from the real events of her viſit, or be created by a happy exertion of the imagination and of the judgment together. But ſo to create is no eaſy taſk. The letters are apparently the work of a haſty effort, ſtruck off at once without imagination and without judgment. They are *therefore* ſtored with

* Anderſon, i. 52—54.

incidents, which intelligence supplied. This is plain from the depositions of Thomas Crawford in England, who confirmed several of the facts related in this part of the present letter particularly *. Yet, in arranging the articles of this intelligence, the forger was liable to be abused by his negligence and his situation. He was to take such articles only, as were antecedent to the date of his letters. He was to reject all that were posteriour to it. He was to draw a very precise line betwixt both. And he was to adhere very rigidly to it. But the hurry of the forger did not allow him to be confined within such limits. He drew no line, or he overpast it. He united prior and posteriour incidents together. He combined the future and the past in his own point of time. He even went such lengths of confusion, as to anticipate an event that happened NEAR THREE MONTHS AFTERWARDS. The distance of time at which he was writing, came in to the aid of his carelessness, to conceal the blunder from him. And he plainly betrayed his forgery to the eye of the publick by it; though this eye is now opened for the first time to see it, after an acquiescence of two hundred years under it †.

* Goodall, ii. 245—246.

† Buchanan has also misled himself in his History, by trusting to his memory, and mistaking one event for another. In xix. 367. he makes Murray to hold a parliament in August 1567, when he actually held it in December following (Keith, 465.) But then Murray did really hold one in August, *the year succeeding* (Anderson, iv. part 1. 125—126.) And this his memory afterwards confounded with that. So he convenes the nobles at Stirling in the end of April and beginning of May 1567 (xviii. 356.) *because* they assembled there in the beginning of June afterwards.

(3.) " Im-

(3.) "Impoſui homini ſilentium," Latin, and "j'impoſay ſilence au perſonnage," French, are as ſimilar to each other as they are different from the Scotch, "I maid him hald his toung."

(4.) "The reſt wer lang to wryte." What remainder could there be to write? She has told us his ſpeech. She has told us her anſwer. And ſhe has told us the reſult of both. What elſe could ſhe have to tell us? Nor let ſuch a queſtion be thought more briſk than proper. Theſe letters are written with ſuch continued abſurdity in the whole and in the parts, and they have been ſo little examined hitherto with minute attention, that we can hardly be too much alive to the progreſs of the narrative in them, or too ready to queſtion and interrogate the ſentences as they ariſe before us.—The French has *added* the word "tout."

"cumming, he departit away, and ſend Howſ-
"toun (1) to ſchaw him [Sir James] that he wald
"never have belevit that he [Sir James] wald have
"perſewit him [Lenox], nor zit have accompanyit
"him [Sir James] with the Hammiltounis. He
"anſwerit (2), that he was only cum bot to ſee me
"(3), and yat he wald nouther accompany Stewart
"nor Hammiltoun, bot be my commandement (4).
"He [Lenox] deſyrit that he [Sir James] wald
"cum and ſpeik with him [Lenox]; he [Sir James]
"refuſit it (5)."

"meo adventu audiſſet, eum diſceſſiſſe, ac Huſto-
"num (1) ad ſe miſiſſe, qui diceret, ſe nunquam
"fuiſſe

" fuiſſe creditурum, quód aut ipſum perſequeretur,
" aut Hamiltoniis ſe conjungeret; ſe vero reſpon-
" diſſe (2), ſui itineris cauſam unam fuiſſe, ut me
" videret (3); neque cum Stuartis aut Hamiltoniis,
" injuſſu meo, ſe conjuncturum (4)."

" ayant entendu ma venüe, il s'eſtoit retiré, et luy
" avoit envoyé Huſton (1), pour luy dire, qu'il
" n'euſt jamais creu, ou qu'il l'euſt voulu purſuivre,
" ou qu'il ſe fut joinct avec les Hambletons; et
" qu'il reſpondit (2), qu'il n'y avoit eu qu'une
" cauſe de ſon voyage, a ſcavoir, pour me voir (3);
" et qu'il ne ſe conjoindroit avec les Stuarts et
" Hambletons ſans mon commandement (4)."

(1) This name ſhews the fidelity of the French to the Latin; " Howſtoun," Scotch, being " Huſ-
" tonum," Latin, and " Huſton," French.

(2) The Scotch begins a freſh ſentence. But the Latin continues the former. And therefore the French continues it too.

(3) The Latin ſays, " ſui itineris cauſam unam
" fuiſſe, ut me videret;" and the French, " qu'il
" n'y avoit eu qu'une cauſe de ſon voyage, a ſca-
" voir, pour me voir;" both very ſimilar and very diffuſe: while the Scotch is at once different and compact, " that he only cum bot to ſee me."

(4.) The whole turn of the ſentence here, and particularly the plural termination of Stuart and Hamilton, ſhew the French to be merely from the Latin. The Stuarts, or the family and dependents of the Earl of Lenox, were at this period in a ſtate

ſtate of enmity with the Hamiltons, the family and dependents of the Duke of Chatelleraut.

(5) A whole ſentence in the Scotch is here omitted by the Latin, and, in conſequence of that, by the French. Such is the variation of the Latin from the Scotch; and ſuch the cloſeneſs, with which the French comes treading in its ſteps! The Scotch, as we have reaſon to think from other inſtances hereafter, had not the ſentence in it originally. The *firſt* and the *corrected* Latin, therefore, were equally deprived of the ſentence. And for that reaſon the French *could* not have it.—But let us here attend to the new fact ſtated in this paragraph.

Lenox is ſaid "the uther tyme," when he heard of the Queen's coming to Glaſgow, to have "departit away." This alludes to ſome journey of the Queen's, which was different from the preſent. It was the journey of "the uther tyme." It was ſome journey that was ſtill well remembered, and that had conſequently been taken a little before. And Lenox *then* "departit away" from Glaſgow; when he *now* ſtaid in the city, and ſent to excuſe his non-attendance on her upon the road. So plainly is that journey of the Queen's, diſcriminated by the letter from the preſent! Yet, if we proceed with the letter, we ſhall find it *confounding* what it has already diſcriminated, and we ſhall ſee the journey to be the very ſame with the preſent. It was one, in which Sir James Hamilton came to pay his reſpects to the Queen, equally as he did in this. It was one, in which the Queen was eſcorted by the Hamiltons, equally as ſhe is in this *. It was one

* Sect. xxxii.

too,

too, in which Sir James Hamilton must have *then* related to the Queen the anecdote concerning Lenox, if the journey had been different from this. And indeed Sir James makes it one and the same with this, by his answer to Lenox, as reported in the letter. "He answerit, that he WAS only cum "bot to see me, and yat he WALD nouther accom-"pany Stewart nor Hammiltoun, bot be my com-"mandement." So plainly was this journey of the Queen's at once different from, and yet the very same with, her present! The circumstances, the language, and the whole tenour of the story, all unite to prove it the same; while the departure of Lenox at it, and the other time assigned for it, concur to prove it different. And all forms a very glaring evidence of that absurdity in the parts of these letters, which I have noticed so little a while before.

But, whether we consider the journey as different or the same, *either way* the mention of it proves the mentioning letter to be a forgery. This is extraordinary. Yet it is evident.

If we take the journey to be a *different* one from the present, the Queen is represented as going to Glasgow some time before the 23d of January 1567, and Lenox is described as leaving Glasgow upon the report of her coming. This must have been, as I have observed before, only a little time previous to her present journey. It must certainly have been, *since* the Queen began to suspect Lenox of a share in the murder of Rizzio, *since* Lenox left his lodgings in Holyrood-house, and *since* he retired to Glasgow. He was in his lodgings, as I have

have previouſly ſhewn, on the 4th of April. But he was alſo there many days later. That letter, which ſhews he was then reſident "in the Abby," and had been "once with the Queen ſince ſhe came "to the caſtle," ought to be dated much later than it is. It was not till the *fifth* of April, that the Privy Council *agreed* to *adviſe* the Queen, if it might be compatible with her pleaſure and health, to "remane in the caſtell of Edinburgh till her "Grace be deliverit of hir birth *." She entered it therefore *after* the 5th. But ſhe alſo entered it *before* the 14th. She kept Eaſter-Sunday there, which was the 14th of April in that year †. Yet ſhe had been for ſome time in the caſtle, when the letter was written; as Lenox had then been "once "with the Queen ſince ſhe came to the caſtle." And the letter ought pretty certainly to be dated the 24th, as "it is written to me for certain," ſays the author, "by one that on *Monday laſt* ſpoke with "the Queen, that ſhe is determined that the houſe "of Lenox ſhall be as poor in Scotland as ever it "was;" and as the Monday but one after Eaſter-Sunday was the 22d of April. Lenox then continued at Holyrood-houſe to the 24th, and beyond. The Queen alſo had removed before into the caſtle, and continued there to the time of her delivery, the 19th day of June, and to the completion of her month afterwards ‡. Betwixt the 24th and 28th of July, ſhe left the caſtle for Alloa, a ſeat of Lord Mar's, near Stirling ‖. From that period to the

* Keith, 335. † Goodall, i. 289. ‡ Ibid. i. 289—290. ‖ Ibid. 292—293.

preſent, we have all her motions deſcribed exactly by the zeal and hoſtility of the rebel diary. And WE HAVE NO JOURNEY TO GLASGOW IN ANY PART OF THE WHOLE *. So evidently is this, if conſidered as *different* from the preſent, demonſtrated to be all a forgery!

Nor is it leſs ſo, if conſidered as the *ſame*. It was taken, ſays the letter, "the uther tyme." The ſlighteſt diſtance of time, that we can ground upon theſe words, directly overſets them. In S. xxiv. we have words nearly ſimilar, and meaning the day after next, "uther morne." If therefore we interpret thoſe words in the ſenſe of theſe, and conſider them as ſignifying the day before the laſt, which is the loweſt poſſible ſignification that we can give them; even then we ſhall be carried back to the 21ſt of January, the very day of Mary's ſetting out for Glaſgow. And, as I ſhall hereafter ſhew Mary *not* to have *known* of her own ſetting out *the very day before*, the report of it could not poſſibly have reached Glaſgow the very day of her ſetting out. This carries a deciſive weight with it. But let us view the account in another light alſo. The Earl of Lenox is ſaid to have *left* Glaſgow, upon the report of the Queen's coming. Yet, as I have already obſerved, he did *not* leave it. This the teſtimony of Thomas Crawford ſatisfactorily ſhews, who was the very man that came to Mary on the road in the name of Lenox, and who depoſed before the commiſſioners in England, That "as ſoon as the "Quene of Scotts had ſpoken with the King his

* Anderſon, ii. 269—271.

"maſter

" maſter at Glaſgow from tyme to tyme, he, the " ſaid Crawford, was ſecretly informed by the King " of all things which had paſſed betwixt the ſaid " Quene and the King, *to the intent he ſhuld report* " *the ſame to the Earl of Lenox his maſter*; becauſe " the ſaid Earle durſt not then, for diſpleaſure of the " Quene," occaſioned (as appears from her letter of January 20th before) by his factious pratings and factious cabals, " *come abroad* *." Our preſent letter alſo confirms the teſtimony and the obſervation. " This day," ſays the writer of it, " HIS FATHER " bled at the mouth and noſe;—I have not zit ſene " him, *he keipis his chalmer*; the King deſyris " that I ſuld give him meit with my awin handis †." And the groſs and palpable contradiction here, is the fulleſt proof of a forgery. Nature could not deviate ſo wildly from itſelf. Art alone could. The Queen could not poſſibly have aſſerted Lenox to be departed from the town, and yet to be actually in it. And as this concurs with the obſervation before, concerning the "uther tyme;" ſo both unite to make the whole paſſage furniſh us, with a ſecond, unnoticed, proof of the general forgery.

* Goodall, ii. 246. † Sect. xvi.

§ III.

§ III.

LETTER THE FIRST CONTINUED.

IV.—" The laird of Luſſe (1), Howſtoun (2), " and Caldwellis ſone (3), with XL (4) hors or " thairabout, came and met me (5). The laird of " Luſſe ſaid, he was chargeit to ane day of law (6) " be the King's Father, quhilk ſuld be this day (7), " aganis his [Lenox's] awin hand-writ, quhilk he " [Luſſe] hes (8): and zit notwithſtanding, knaw- " ing of my cumming, it is delayit (9). He was in- " quyrit to cum to him (10) [Lenox], quhilk he " refuſit (11), and ſweiris that he will indure (12) " nathing of him."

IV.—" Luſſius (1), Huſtonus (2), Caldoëlli " filius (3), comitati quadraginta (4) circiter equis, " obviam venerunt (5). Luſſius dixit, ſe a Regis " patre in eum ipſum diem (7) ut cauſam diceret " (6) accerſitum, contra quám chirographo pro- " miſiſſet; id chirographum penes ſe eſſe (8): tamen " cúm de meo adventu reſcitum eſſet, diem prola- " tum (9); ſe accerſitum a Comite (10), ire nolle " (11); ac jurat ſe nihil unquam ab eo velle (12)."

IV.—" Luſſe (1), Huſton (2), et le fils de Cauld- " wellis (3), accompagnez d'environ quatre vingts " (4) chevaux, vindrent au devant de moy (5). " Luſſe dict, que ce jour-la meſme (7) il eſtoit ad-

" journé

" journé (6) par le pere du Roy, contre ce qu'il " avoit promis par ſon ſeing, et que ce ſeing eſtoit " par devers luy (8): mais, que quand on fut ad- " verty de ma venüe, que le jour avoit eſté pro- " longé (9). Et qu'il ne vouloit (11) aller par " devers le Conte (10), qui l'avoit appellé; en " jurant, qu'il ne luy demanderoit (12) jamais " rien."

(1) The Latin tranſlator rendering " the laird " of Luſſe" by " Luſſius," inſtead of *Dominus de Luſſâ*, the Frenchman was compelled to take up with " Luſſe," here and immediately afterwards.

(2) The French again follows the Latin in the variation of this name.

(3) The French here purſues the corrected Latin, which was leſs flouriſhing in itſelf, and more cloſe to the Scotch; retaining the conjunctive particle, giving the Scotch name juſt as it was, but miſtaking the termination for a part of the name, and ſo making " Caldwell" into " Caldwellis " The Latin being " et filius de Caldwelle," the French read it, " et filius de Caldwellë," and ſo became itſelf " et le fils de Cauldwellis." This gentleman was afterwards ſeized by the rebels, as he was haſtening to aſſiſt the Queen juſt then eſcaped from priſon *.

(4) " Forty" in Scotch, " quadraginta" in Latin, and by ſome ſtrange miſtake " quatre vingts" or eighty in French.

* Keith, 475.

(5) Here also the French follows a more correct translation into Latin, than the present is; the relative "me" being omitted in the last, and yet preserved in the first.

(6) "Chargeit to ane day of law," and "ut "causam diceret accersitum," are only answered by "adjourné" in French. The Frenchman did not understand the meaning of the Latin. The laird of Lusse was summoned to attend as a juryman at one of Lenox's courts. Ignorant of this, the Frenchman only says he was summoned, without specifying for what. And this alone should have shewn decisively, that the French was not the original, and that the Scotch was.

(7) "Quhilk suld be this day," Scotch; "in "eum ipsum diem," Latin; "ce jour-la meſme," French.

(8) "Aganis his own hand-writ, quhilk he hes," Scotch; "contra quàm chirographo promisisset, id "chirographum penes se esse," Latin; and "contre "ce qu'il avoit promis par son seing, et que ce "seing estoit par devers luy," French. So thoroughly Latinized is the French!

(9) "It is delayit," Scotch; "diem prolatum," Latin; "que le jour avoit esté prolongé," French; another proof of the same point.

(10) "Him," "Comitem," "le Conte."

(11) "Refusit," "nolle," "ne vouloit."

(12) "Indure," "velle," "demanderoit." These three instances are three additional proofs of the same point.

V.—"Ne-

V.—"Never ane of that (1) towne came to "ſpeik to me, quhilk cauſis me think that thay ar "his (2); and nevertheles (3) he (4) ſpeikis gude, "at the leiſt his (5) ſone (6). I ſé na uther gentil-"man (7) bot thay of my company."

V.—"Nemo oppidanorum (1) me convenit, quæ "res facit ut eos credam ab illo ſtare (2); præ-"terea (3), bene loquuntur (4), ſaltem de (6) "filio (5). Nullos præterea nobiles (7) video præ-"ter meos comites."

V.—"Nul des citoyens (1) n'eſt venu a moy, "qui faict que je croy qu'ils ſont d'avec ceſtuy-"la (2); et puis (3) ils (4) parlent en bien, au "moins (6) du fils (5). D'avantage je ne voy au-"cuns de la nobleſſe (7), autre ceux de ma ſuite."

(1) This is one of thoſe ſlight and incidental ſtrokes of forgery, which the common eye always overlooks, but which betray the forgery very ſignificantly to a critical one. The letter pretends to be written from Glaſgow. The real Mary, writing from *Glaſgow*, could not poſſibly have called it *that* town. She muſt have called it *the* town, as ſhe does before, or *this* town. But the forger of the letter, writing at *another* place, and writing from a forced combination of ideas, would be apt at times to ſtart aſide from it. Art would intermit its controuling power for a moment. And Nature would

re-assert her authority, laugh at the mimickries of her rival, and confound her fantastical operations.

(2) The Frenchman has made an amazing blunder here. His Latinity not carrying him far enough, to shew him the meaning of the idiom, "ab illo "stare;" he translated it literally, "sont d'avec ces- "tuy-la," and so gave it a signification directly the reverse of the original. And as "quæ res facit" runs so readily into "qui faict," so it concurs to shew how literally he was following the Latin.

(3) The Latin translating "nevertheles" by "præterea," the French renders both by "puis." And this is the more observable, as the French, by prefixing the "et," appears to have been translating from the corrected Latin.

(4) This is the region of mistakes to both the French and the Latin. "He speikis" is rendered "loquuntur" and "ils parlent."

(5) "His" is omitted equally in the Latin and in the French, though so necessary to the sense.

(6) The father, says the Scotch concerning Lenox, speaks "gude;" or at least his son, the King, does. Mary is thus made to anticipate in reflection, what she relates in succession afterwards. Yet there is a great absurdity attending one half of the anticipation. She relates the "gude" speeches of the *son* hereafter. But she relates none hereafter from the *father*. She also *relates none before*. She has not yet seen him, she does not see him at all in this letter, to hear him speak either "gude" or bad. She tells us expressly, near the *end* of this long letter,

ter, that she had not even then seen him. "His "father," she says, "keipis his chalmer; I HAVE "NOT SENE HIM *." Nor can she be excused, as alluding to the message which she received from him on the road. This she did not consider as "gude," because she says she made the messenger "hald his toung." And this passage is therefore one of those many contradictions, which I have already announced to my reader, some of which I have exposed to his view before, and others of which I shall be forced to expose hereafter. This contradiction the Latin translator appears to have observed, and to have taken a turn in order to avoid it. "Nemo oppidanorum," he says, "me "convenit, quæ res facit ut eos credam ab illo stare; "*præterea, bene loquuntur, saltem de filio.*" That the townsmen speak well of him, or at least of his son; is an *additional* reason assigned for believing, that they are of his side. This is plainly too regular a chain of thoughts, to be linked by the hand of accident. He studiously formed it, to escape an absurdity. He has escaped one by it, and has fallen into another. He now gives the kind speeches to the townsmen of Glasgow. He now fixes the father, "or at the leist his sone," to be the object, instead of the speaker, of them. And he now makes the townsmen to utter them to Mary, when "never ane "of that towne came to speik to" her at all. I need hardly add, that the French has taken all the absurdity of the Latin. We cannot expect the mock-sun to be freer from spots than the true.

* Sect. xxxi.

And " ils [citoyens] parlent en bien, au moins du " fils," is juſt the reflection of " bene loquuntur, " ſaltem de filio."

(7) " Gentilman" was tranſlated before " homo " honeſto loco natus," and " un gentilhomme." But now, when the Latin abſurdly renders it " no- " biles," the French, ſcorning to be leſs abſurd, renders it " nobleſſe."

VI.—" The King ſend for Joachim ziſternicht " (1), and aſkit at him, quhy I ludgeit not beſyde " him? and that (2) he wald ryſe the ſoner gif " that wer (3): and quhairfoir I come, gif it was " for gude appointment (4)?"

VI.—Rex arceſſivit Joachimum heri (1), ac " eum interrogavit, cur non propé ſe diverterem, " id enim (2) ſi feciſſem, ſe citiús ſurrecturum (3); " item cur veniſſem? an reconciliationis cauſâ (4)?"

VI.—" Le Roy appella hier (1) Joachim, et " l'interroga, pourquoy je n'alloye loger pres de " luy? et que (2), ſi je le faiſoye, il ſeroit pluſtoſt " remis ſus (3); item pourquoy j'eſtoy venue, et " ſi c'eſtoit pour faire une reconciliation (4)?"

(1) This is the firſt note of time that has occurred yet. I ſhall mark all very carefully, as they appear before us. And I ſhall ſtop occaſionally to ſhew, how fully they unite to prove the forgery. But I ſhall only obſerve at preſent, that the Latin tranſlating

translating "zisternicht" by "heri" and not *hesternâ nocte*, the French was forced to use "hier," instead of *hier au soir*.

(2) The French "et que," so different from the Latin, and so according with the Scotch, shews it to have been taken from the corrected Latin.

(3) "Gif that wer," rendered "id si feciſſem" and "si je le faisoye," shews the French to be only Latin Frenchified. The words adjoining in all the copies, "he wald ryse the soner," "se citiús surrecturum," and "il seroit plustost remis sus," mean that he should the sooner be raised up from his bed of sickness. He kept his bed at present *.

(4) "Item cur veniſſem," Latin, "item pourquoy j'estoye venue," French; and "an reconciliationis causâ," "si c'estoit pour faire une reconciliation." But how comes the King to ask this question? He knew for what purpose she came. Joachim, no doubt, as her fore-runner, brought a message from the Queen to the King, indicating her immediate visit to him, and the reasons of it. This must have been the case, whether the Queen came with friendly or with hostile intentions. And it must peculiarly have been so, when the Queen came (as I shall soon shew she did) in consequence of a message from the king himself, in consequence of his avowed repentance for his previous conduct to her, and in consequence of his expressed wish to see her.

* Sect. x. and xxi.

" and gif ze wer thair in particular (1)? and gif I
" had maid my eſtait (2), gif I had takin Paris *
" and Gilbert (3) to wryte to me? and yat I wald
" ſend Joſeph away. I am abaſchit quha hes ſchawin
" him ſa far (4); zea, he ſpak evin (5) of the mar-
" riage (6) of Baſtiane."

* " This berer will tèll you
" ſumwhat upon this (7)."

" ac nominatim, an tu hic eſſes (1)? an familiæ
" catalogum feciſſem (2)? an Paridem et Gilber-
" tum (3) accepiſſem qui mihi ſcriberent? an Jo-
" ſephum dimiſſura eſſem? Miror quis ei tantum
" indicarit (4); etiam uſque ad nuptias (6) Sebaſ-
" tiani ſermo pervenit (5)."

" ſi vous eſtiez icy (1)? et ſi j'avoye faict quelque
" rolle de mes domeſtiques (2)? ſi j'avois prins
" Paris et Gilbert (3), afin qu'ils m'eſcriviſſent? et
" ſi je ne vouloye pas licentier Joſeph? Or je
" m'eſtonné qui luy en tant declaré (4); car meſme
" il a tenu propos (5) de Sebaſtian (6)."

(1) This is the firſt hint concerning the adultery. But who the adulterer was, could never be known from the hint. No one is addreſſed by name. No one is alluded to by character. No one is pointed out with the ſlighteſt particularity. But the abſurdity of all this is greatly heightened, by another circumſtance. Mary went to ſee Darnly in his illneſs at Glaſgow, with a *real*, or with a *pretended*, regard. Acting under the influence of either, ſhe would

would *not* take her adulterer with her. This is obvious. Yet, obvious as it is, the forger has not ſeen it. And Darnly is repreſented as enquiring of her fore-runner, whether the adulterer was with her. With ſuch an evident abſurdity is the letter managed!

(2) "Maid my eſtait," ſays the Miſcellaneous Remarker *, is French, *faire un etat*, to make up a liſt of the officers of one's houſhold. This letter ſhews it to be equally Scotch. The Latin accordingly renders it "an familiæ catalogum feciſ-"ſem?" And the French thought ſo little of *faire un etat*, that it turns the Latin into "ſi j'avoye faict "quelque rolle de mes domeſtiques." But, in *any* ſenſe of the words, where is the *propriety* of them? Why ſhould Darnly aſk, whether ſhe had made "*quelque* rolle de domeſtiques," or "familiæ cata-"logum," or a liſt of the officers of her houſhold? Was this the *commencement* of her royalty? or had ſhe never formed her houſhold *before?* She formed it, no doubt, when ſhe firſt ſettled in Scotland. She muſt have formed it finally, if ſhe had not done ſo before, when ſhe married Darnly. And the queſtion is only one of thoſe abſurdities, which croud the letters from end to end, and which are ſome of the ſtrongeſt marks of forgery in them. When the imagination is let looſe into the regions of fiction, it requires a higher degree of judgment than what the forger was able to exert, in order to keep its excurſions within the lines of ſobriety; to guard it againſt extravagance, while it is indulging in invention; and

* P. 20.

to

to ſecure a ſtrain of probability, amid the facilities of falſhood.

(3) This was Gilbert Curle, mentioned in Paris's ſecond confeſſion *, and afterwards ſecretary to her in her Engliſh confinement.

(4) This is ſaid in conſequence of a peculiar diſpoſition in the King. He was meanly ſuſpicious. He was therefore at work continually, in prying into all the circumſtances of Mary's conduct. And he was perpetually twiſting and turning them, as far as his little ingenuity would allow him, to the hurt of her reputation. This appears ſufficiently in Mary's *real* letter of January the 20th before. But I ſhall cite ſome of the clauſes again. "Alwayis "we perſave him," ſhe ſays, "occupeit and biſſy "aneuch, to haif inquiſitioun of our doyngis; "quhilkis, God willing, ſall ay be ſic as nane ſall "haif occaſioun to be offendit with thame, or to "report of us any wayis bot honorably, howſoever "he, his father, and thair fautoris, ſpeik; quhilkis, "we knaw, want na gude will to make us haif ado, "gif thair power wer equivalent to thair myndis †." By this folly of conduct he was probably the author or the ſpreader of many calumnies, which the fools of faction ſtill believe againſt Mary. He certainly was of one, which ſome of the loweſt are ſtill circulating in converſation, though none of them are weak enough to lend their little ſanction to it in print; the pretended amour of Mary with Rizzio ‡. And in this fictitious letter he is repre-

* Goodall, ii. 78. † Keith, Pref. viii. ‡ Keith, App. 124.

ſented,

ſented, perhaps not untruly, as carrying his ſuſpicious curioſity ſo far, as to procure information of every man and woman that ſhe took into her houſhold, and even of every marriage that was negotiating among them.

(5) Here the French, following another tranſlation in Latin, varies equally from the preſent and the Scotch; "car" being ſubſtituted for "etiam" and "zea." And it is uſeful to note theſe little variations from the preſent Latin, becauſe they ariſe from what I have already proved, but which had never been obſerved before, a Latin copy different from the preſent, and having all the eight letters in it.

(6) The French, having followed the Latin in lengthening the name of "Baſtiane" into "Sebaſtian," by ſome miſtake drops all notice of the marriage.

(7) "This berer will tell you ſumwhat upon "this." What then was the bearer, Paris, to tell Bothwell concerning this? The King had aſked, whether Mary had taken Paris and Gilbert to be her private ſecretaries. Mary reports this queſtion in a letter to Bothwell. And ſhe adds, that Paris himſelf, who carried the reporting letter, ſhould tell him ſome more particulars concerning the queſtion. What then was he to tell? I cannot poſſibly conjecture what. And I therefore conſider the whole, as one of the multiplied abſurdities, that glare upon us while we read the letters.

"This

"This Paris," says Buchanan, "was ane young "man borne in France, and had levit certane zeiris "in the houſis of Bothwell and Setoun, and efter-"wart with the Quene*." He appears in the *letter* to be *juſt now* taken into the Queen's ſervice. He accordingly ſays, in his ſecond mock-confeſſion, that he firſt entered into credit with her on the road betwixt Kalendar and Glaſgow†; which was this very day, January 23d. Yet, though he was ſo lately come into her train, ſhe had confidence enough in him THIS VERY DAY, to make him *privy to the adultery*, by giving him a purſe of crowns for Bothwell‡; and even, IN A DAY OR TWO, to make him *privy to the murder itſelf*, by ſending him with *this* letter *unſealed*. And all this while he was only "ane young man."

The force of folly, I may ſafely affirm, cannot poſſibly go beyond this. But let us attend to another circumſtance here.

I have already pointed out a number of variations in the form and ſubſtance of the letters. Here we have one of a new nature. This marginal intimation was not in the letter, as it appeared at York. The commiſſioners there ſpeak thus of the bearer: "Item, in the credit giſin to the berer, "quhome WE UNDERSTAND was Pareis §." But they *could* not have ſpoken in theſe terms, if the intimation had been then in the letter. They could not have ſaid *they underſtood* Paris to be the bearer, if he was expreſsly ſtiled ſo by a reference to the

* Detection, 21. † Goodall, ii. 76. ‡ Ibid. ibid. § App. N° vii.

ſide

ſide of the page. And they could not have attributed their knowledge of the point to the information of the rebels, if the letter itſelf informed them of it explicitly. This note therefore, of Paris being the bearer of the letter, was not in the original ſhewn to the commiſſioners at York. Yet it was in that exhibited at Weſtminſter. Hence it appeared in the Engliſh edition of the letters 1571, and appears in the preſent. But hence alſo it does *not* occur in the Latin, in the French, or in the Scottiſh edition of 1572. The Latin verſion, as I have ſhewn already, was made before the exhibition of the letters at Weſtminſter, and in order to the exhibition of them in French there. Accordingly it omitted the preſent paſſage, as the original had not yet got it. The French equally omitted it, becauſe the Latin had. And the Scotch edition of 1572 omitted it equally with both, becauſe this profeſſed itſelf to be merely a tranſlation from the Latin, when in the letters it is evidently nothing more than a copy of the Engliſh. No tranſlation from the Latin, or any other language, could poſſibly have made the Engliſh and the Scotch editions of the letters to coincide regularly, word for word, from the beginning to the end. Nothing but tranſcription could do this. And, what is ſtill more, the Scotch edition had all the eight letters of the Engliſh, when the Latin had only three of them. The Scotch edition of the letters, then, was only a tranſcript of the Engliſh. Yet in the title-page the whole work, the letters as well as the Detection itſelf, were ſaid to have been "tranſlatit out of the "Latine, quhilk was written be M. G. B.", Mr. George

George Buchanan. And for this reaſon the Scotch editor was obliged to throw out the note, though it was in the very edition which he was copying at the time *.

We have alſo ſeen a fact before, that is nearly ſimilar to this. At the end of Section the 3d, is a whole ſentence in the Engliſh edition, which does not appear in either the French or the Latin. It was therefore, as we may preſume from the preſent inſtance, not in the York original of the letter, though it muſt have been in the Weſtminſter. But it differs from the preſent, in appearing upon the pages of the Scotch edition. And this, the only difference between them, may be eaſily accounted for, from that being a note on the margin of the page, and this being a ſentence in the body of it; from that neceſſarily engaging the notice of the pretended tranſlator, and ſo being omitted in conformity to his pretenſions; and from this very naturally eſcaping his notice, and ſo running readily into his copy.

All ſerves however to ſhew us very ſatisfactorily, the reaſon of theſe two omiſſions in the different editions of the preſent letter. But it alſo reſolves a point of much more conſequence to us. It proves a plain variation in the York and Weſtminſter originals of the letter. As ſhewn at York, the letter *certainly* had *not* the ſide-note attached to it, and *probably* had *not* the whole ſentence incorporated with it. But, as ſhewn at Weſtminſter, it had certainly the one, and it probably had the other. Mary thus appeared at one time to have penned the

* See Anderſon, ii. title page, and 133.

letter

letter in her own hand *without* the paſſages; and at another to have penned it *with* them. And we thus add one more demonſtration to the many that we have ſeen already, of the obvious and apparent forgery of all the letters, and of the ever-reſtleſs fluctuation of the ſpirit of knavery under it.

VII.—" I inquyrit him of his letteris, quhairintil " he plenzeit of the crueltie of ſum (1); anſwerit " that he was aſtoniſchit (2), and that he was ſa " glaid to ſé me, that he belevit to die for glaid- " nes (3). He fand greit"

VII.—" Ego eum de ſuis literis rogavi, in quibus " queſtus erat de quorundam crudelitate (1); re- " ſpondit, ſe nonnihil (2) eſſe attonitum, meumque " ei conſpectum tam jucundum, ut putaret ſe " lætitiâ moriturum (3). Offendebatur"

VII.—" Je l'ay enquis de ſes lettres, ou il s'eſtoit " plaint de la cruauté d'aucuns (1). Il reſpondit, " qu'il eſtoit aucunement (2) etonné, et qu'il ſe " trouvoit ſi joyeux de me voir, qu'il penſoit mou- " rir de joye (3)."

(1) The letters, as here called, or the letter, as more properly called in the next paragraph, was one which Darnly wrote to Mary from Stirling, a few days after his abrupt departure from her at Holyrood-houſe, on September the 30th 1566. But we have already ſeen, that it is dangerous for forgers to meddle with hiſtory. And this paſſage furniſhes

furniſhes us with another proof of the important truth.

Mary immediately anſwered that letter of Darnly's very fully *. Yet nearly FOUR MONTHS AFTERWARDS ſhe is made to aſk him, what he meant by one point in it. She is even made to aſk him, in the *firſt* moments of her viſit to him upon his illneſs. And ſhe is even made to notice the *intimated cruelty of ſome* in it, when it intimated no ſuch thing. His grounds of complaint were not general and vague. They were ſpecifick. He complained, that he was not truſted with power or advanced in honour by her, and that he was without any attendance from the nobility †. And Mary, in her anſwer, reminded him of the honour and power, which ſhe had given to him, and which he had turned againſt her; recalled to his memory her uniform offers, of making her ſervants to attend him; and ſuggeſted to him the diſguſt, which he had excited in the nobles, by the ſtatelineſs of his conduct towards them ‡. There was no complaint therefore concerning the *cruelty* of ſome, in Darnly. Nor could there be any enquiries concerning it, in Mary.

But indeed all remembrance of ſuch a letter muſt have been long effaced from the minds of both, by the ſcenes that had paſſed before them ſince. Mary had been ill of a violent fever. The illneſs continued eleven days. Her life was in the utmoſt danger for a part of the time. Her council actually iſſued a proclamation for ſecuring the

* Keith, 349—350. † Ibid. ibid. ‡ Ibid. ibid.

peace,

peace, in full apprehenſion of the worſt. Mary fully expected that worſt. And on the 25th of October ſhe lay to all appearance dead *. In all this danger the King, though formally apprized of it, with a groſs unfeelingneſs and a ſtupid barbarity of ſoul, had never come near her. He came not till ſhe was out of danger †. And all this muſt have formed an object to the minds of both, much more important in itſelf, and much ſurer to engage their converſation when they met, than the letter before. She particularly was ſo affected by it, that ſhe was often heard to wiſh for that laſt ſhelter of over-burdened nature, the grave ‡.

The baptiſm of the young prince had taken place in the December afterwards, at Stirling. At this very period the King, with a ſullen abſurdity of ſpirit, thought proper to take up his reſidence at Stirling, never to come near the Queen, never to appear in the entertainments, and ſo to publiſh his own folly and their common unhappineſs to all the world. Mary felt this inſult ſo ſenſibly, that ſhe was obliged at times to retire from the gaieties before her, and give vent to the fulneſs of her heart in ſecret ‖. And this was ſurely a ſubject, that would have much more demanded the attention of Mary, at her firſt conference with the King afterwards; than a ſlight letter, with ſlight complaints in it, written about three months before.

But another event had alſo happened in this interval. On December the 27th, the King left

* Keith, Hiſt. 352—353, and App. 133—136. † Ibid. App. 135. ‡ Ibid. Pref. viii. ‖ Ibid. ibid.

Stirling, and retired to Glaſgow, without taking the leaſt notice of the Queen *. He was immediately ſeized with a dangerous illneſs. He was racked with violent pains. He was covered with puſtules of a black and putrid nature. And his life was in the utmoſt danger †. This ſurely, from its recentneſs, its continuance, and its importance, would have given a topick to the King and Queen at their meeting, infinitely more attractive than a petty letter, written nearly four months before. And all theſe events together would have ſo totally ſuperſeded the memory of ſuch a letter, that it could not poſſibly have been the FIRST point of their converſation, that it could hardly have been any at all.

(2) The Latin having, by ſome wild miſtake, inſerted "nonnihil" into the text, the French adopts the miſtake, and ſubſtitutes "aucunement" for the word.

(3) Dr. Robertſon acknowledges, that Mary ſhewed great kindneſs to Darnly in this viſit; tho', with the true ſpirit of faction, he endeavours to turn all into artifice ‡. Yet *in theſe letters* ſhe appears not to have ſhewed any kindneſs at all. *He* ſhews much to her, but *ſhe* none to him. And this is ſuch a plain proof of the forgery, that the Doctor ſhould in common candour have pointed to it.

* Keith, Pref. vii. and Hiſt. 364. Anderſon, ii. and 242. Jebb, i.

† Detection, 16.

‡ i. 396.

"greit

" greit fault that I was penſive (1)."

" eo quód tam cogitabunda eſſem (1)."

" cependant il eſtoit offenſé de ce que j'eſtois ainſi " penſive (1)."

(1) " Fand *greit* fault," " offendebatur," " eſtoit " offenſé ;" and " that," " eo quód," " de ce que." Both ſhew the exactneſs of the French in copying the Latin. And the addition of " cependant" in the French, ſhews the copier there to have been more attentive to connection than fidelity. But the whole furniſhes us with another proof of the forgery. That the Queen ſhould be " penſive," is abſurd. If ſhe took the journey from a *real* regard, her ſenſibilities would break from her in a full tide of affectionate tenderneſs. If ſhe went from a *pretended* one, ſhe would endeavour to imitate the affectionateneſs that ſhe did not feel, would certainly carry on the hypocriſy of tenderneſs for a while, and could not poſſibly have been penſive at the VERY FIRST encounter.

Dr. Robertſon ſays thus concerning Mary's viſit to Glaſgow at this period : " Notwithſtanding the " King's danger, ſhe amuſed herſelf with excurſions " to different parts of the country, and ſuffered near " a month to elapſe before ſhe viſited him at Glaſ- " gow *." But ſurely the Doctor ſhould in *honeſty*

* i. 395. This is only the ſlanderous ribaldry of Buchanan repeated again, ſee 63—64. Anderſon, ii. and 259. Jebb, i.

have ſhewn that ſhe *knew* of the illneſs, before he adduced this heavy charge againſt her. He ſhould certainly in *policy* not have referred to a letter, as he does immediately afterwards, which proves ſhe did *not* know of it. In the very next page he ſpeaks of "a letter written with her own hand to "her ambaſſadour in France, juſt before ſhe ſet out "for Glaſgow." And *this* proves deciſively, that *ſhe knew nothing of the illneſs till ſhe actually ſet out.* It is the letter which I have noticed before, as dated the 20th of January, only *the very day before ſhe ſet out.* In it ſhe ſpeaks of the King particularly. She mentions "with ſome bitterneſs," ſays Dr. Robertſon, "the King's ingratitude, the jealouſy with "which he obſerved her actions, and the inclina-"tion he diſcovered to diſturb her government; "and at the ſame time talks of all his attempts "with the utmoſt ſcorn." YET SHE SAYS NOTHING OF HIS ILLNESS. Dr. Robertſon indeed has much aggravated the manner, in which ſhe mentions the King. Theſe are the words: "For the King our "huſband," ſhe ſays, "God knawis alwayis our "part towartis him; and his behaviour and thank-"fulnes to us is ſemblablement well knawin to God "and the warld. Specialie our awin indifferent "ſubjectis ſeis it, and in thair hartis, we doubt not, "condemnis the ſamyne. Alwayis we perſave him "occupeit and biſſy aneuch to haif inquiſitioun of "our doyngis, quhilkis, God willing, ſall ay be ſic "as nane ſall haif occaſioun to be offendit with "thame, or to report of us any wayis bot honora-"bly, howſoever he, his father, and thair fautoris, "ſpeik; quhilkis, we knaw, want na gude will to "mak

" mak us haif ado, gif thair power wer equivalent " to thair myndis. But God moderatis thair forces " well aneuch, and takis the moyen of executioun of " thair pretenſis fra thame; for, as we believe, thay " ſall find nane, or varray few, approveris of thair " counſalis and devyſis imaginit to our diſpleſor " or miſlyking *." There is nothing in all theſe expreſſions of Mary's, but a calm conſciouſneſs of her own innocence, and a firm confidence in her own ſecurity through that, againſt the enquiries and contrivances of the King concerning her. YET SHE SAYS NOTHING OF HIS ILLNESS. Had ſhe known of it then, ſhe muſt have mentioned it. Had ſhe alſo intended to ſet out the very next day on a viſit to him, ſhe muſt have mentioned her intention. She would have done it *in order* to ſhew her reconciliation to him, if it had been all *fictitious*. And, if it had been *genuine*, ſhe could not have concealed it. It would have burſt from her in ſpite of herſelf. Hence " no tokens of ſudden " reconcilement appear" in the letter. They *could not*. She knew not of the only fact, that could produce them in a mind like hers; the dangerous illneſs of the King, attended with " ſymptoms vio- " lent and unuſual," and " commonly imputed to " the effects of poiſon" at the time. She heard of it *after* ſhe had written the letter. She heard of it from himſelf too, with a meſſage expreſſing his grief for the paſt, profeſſing his reformation for the future, and requeſting her preſence immediately. And ſhe immediately hurried away to ſee him.

* Keith, Pref. viii.

"The Queen," say Crawford's Memoirs, "was "*no sooner informed of his danger*, than she *hasted* "after him *." "Hearing and advertised," says the Bishop of Ross in an *un-answered* publication *at the time*, "that HE WAS REPENTANT AND SOR- "ROWFUL, and that he DESIRED HER PRESENCE; "she *without delay*," though it was, as Buchanan himself has told us, "in the deip of a schairp "wynter †," "thereby to renew, quicken, and re- "fresh his sprites, and to comfort his hart, to the "amendment and repayring of his helth lately by "sicknes sore impaired, *hasted with such spede as* "*she conveniently might*," with such weather and at such a season, "to see and visit him at Glasco ‡;" probably setting out in the *forenoon* of January 21st, reaching Linlithgow, sixteen miles off, *that* night, and getting to Kalendar, about eight miles farther, the *next* §. So clear, so honourable, and so generous, is the Queen's behaviour in this business! So strong too is the twist of mind in her historian! And with such a sideling pace does it carry him, through all this period of the history!

But let me make another remark upon the present passage in the letter, for the better detection of the whole. That Darnly was "astonished" at the visit, and that Mary was "pensive" in the very first moments of it; is said with the same view as Dr.

* P. 12. † Detection, 17. Anderson, ii. and 242, Jebb, i. ‡ Defence, 12. Hence also Barnstaple in Jebb, i. 407, calls it "profectio tam longa, tam impedita."

§ Appendix, N° x. And hence Barnstaple says, "Morbi rumor "cùm primùm increpuit," then the Queen set out, Jebb, ibid. A fall of snow probably prevented her from moving faster.

Robertson

Robertson says, that "the sudden transition will appear with a very suspicious air, and will be considered by them [who are acquainted with the human heart] as the effect of artifice." In this assertion, I think, the Doctor shews *himself* to be very little acquainted with the human heart indeed. Or, to speak more properly, and to do justice to the Doctor's understanding, his sagacity became a ready servant to popular prejudice, and an officious slave to the folly of the times. Mary certainly *visited* Darnly in his illness at Glasgow. But *why* did she visit him? From artifice, say the letters, and that writer who, like Buchanan, has incorporated them into history. This, the writer intimates, is plain from her not visiting him till he was "out "of all danger." The fact is not true, and the inference is totally false. This very letter shews him not to be out of all danger. "He has," it says, "almaist slane me with his braith, it is worse "than zour uncle's, and zit I cum na neirer unto "him, bot in ane chyre at the bed-fit, and he "being at the uther end thairof *." "He declairit "unto me," it tells us, "his seiknes, and that he "wald mak na testament, but only leif all thing to "me †." But, not to imitate the Doctor in erecting history upon forgery, I turn to the cotemporary memoirs of Crawford. The Queen, they affirm, "notwithstanding her resentment of the past in"jury," the murder of Rizzio, "was extremely "moved to find him *in so bad a condition*, and "waited very carefully upon him for the space of

* Sect. xx. † Sect. viii.

" ten days, till, *the ſtrength of his nature overcoming* " *the venom of his diſeaſe*, he was able to abandon " that place *." And " after this diſcovery of Ma- " ry's ſentiments," ſays the Doctor, with a refe- rence to the letter of January 20th, and to her not viſiting him at firſt, " it was ſcarce to be expected " that ſhe would viſit the King" at all †. Yet this very circumſtance overthrows his whole argument. If ſhe had been acting from deſign, *ſhe would have gone at firſt*. The deſign would have been *beſt pro- moted* by *that*. So unhappy is the Doctor in his reaſonings! But he is worſe than unhappy. When the Queen does *not* go to Glaſgow, ſhe is reproached with a " neglect" of the King, with no longer feeling " conjugal affection" for him, with " not even put- " ting on the appearance of this paſſion," and with " amuſing herſelf notwithſtanding the King's dan- " ger ‡." When ſhe *does* go, then ſhe is equally condemned, as acting purely from deſign. " To " thoſe who are acquainted with the human heart," we are *then* told, " this ſudden tranſition will appear " with a very ſuſpicious air, and will be conſidered " by them as the effect of artifice §." Thus is the former charge even made to confirm the latter. And a bold and falſe aſſumption is made to pervert a true fact, in the hands of this party-writer.

Indeed every generous ſpirit muſt feel a ſtrong tenderneſs of pity for the unhappy Queen, aſſaulted with all the enginery of fraudulence by her unprin- cipled brother, and abuſed with all the perverſions

* P. 12. The Queen was abſent only ten days in all, by the Journal, N° x. Appendix. † i. 396. ‡ i. 395. § i. 396.

of

of ſophiſtry by a modern hiſtorian. She could not go to viſit the King in his illneſs, *before* ſhe knew of it. Yet ſhe is traduced for not doing ſo. She is traduced, as if ſhe *had* known of his illneſs. Yet all the while the traducer has full evidence that ſhe did *not* know, lying directly before him. But party ſeals up his eyes. And the ſun ſhines in vain upon wilful blindneſs. She goes at laſt, however. She is very kind in her behaviour to the King. All the world ſpeaks of her tenderneſs. But the writer, who was blind before to the SUN, can now diſcern the MOTES that are *not* there. He can now penetrate below the ſemblance of tenderneſs, and ſee cruelty and murder lurking under it. Thus does the violence of party, when party is the prevailing tone of the nation, work wildly in boſoms that are otherwiſe the ſeats of honour. And thus did Murray, in the ſtern flagitiouſneſs of his ambitious policy, turn that high act of generoſity and love in Mary, into an infernal deed of covered malignity; and ſo

Pour the ſweet milk of Concord into Hell!

But let it alſo be remembered, in diſplay of THE PROVIDENCE OF GOD OVER MAN, that, if Mary was ſingularly unhappy in the variety of attacks upon her, ſhe has been peculiarly fortunate in the inſtruments of her defence. No other perſon, in ſuch circumſtances, can appeal to ſuch juſtifying documents as ſhe can. We ſee this ſtrikingly exemplified in the preſervation of that very letter, which I have noticed above. Written only the day before ſhe ſet out to viſit the King, it ſhews, in the moſt ſatisfactory manner, that ſhe had not *even then* heard of his illneſs, and that ſhe did not *even then* intend

to

to viſit him. Such a letter, written in ſuch a critical moment, is a very extraordinary monument in itſelf. It ſeems to have been peculiarly preſerved for the confutation of thoſe ſlanderous writers, who have been long ariſing among us. Yet, what ſhews it not to have been *humanly* preſerved for that purpoſe, it has never been applied to the purpoſe before. And it is now applied, becauſe a new æra is begun in the nation; when all the records of Mary's innocence are daily coming forward to the eye of the public; when all the petty libellers of her name are ſhrinking abaſhed before them; and when her honour will be finally laid open, with a meridian ſplendour of evidence.

§ IV.

§ IV.

LETTER THE FIRST CONTINUED.

VIII.—" I departit to ſupper (1). This beirer " will tell zow of my arryving (2). He prayit me " to returne: the quhilk I did (3). He declairit " unto me his ſeiknes (4), and that he wald mak " na teſtament, bot only leif all thing to me (5); " and that I was the caus of his maladie (8), becaus " of the regrait that he had that I was ſa ſtrange " unto him (6). And thus (7)"

VIII.—" Ego diſceſſi ad cœnam (1). Qui has " fert tibi de meo adventu narrabit (2). Rogavit " me ut redirem, quod et feci (3). Suum mihi " morbum (4) explicavit; ſeque nullum teſtamen- " tum facturum, niſi id unum, quód omnia mihi " relinqueret (5); me autem ſui morbi [cauſam] " fuiſſe (8), quód moleſté tuliſſet me tam alieno " erga ſe animo fuiſſe (6). Ac poſtea (7)"

VIII.—" Je m'en allay ſoupper (1). Celuy qui " vous porte ces lettres vous fera entendre de ma " venüe (2). Il me pria de retourner, ce que je " fay (3). Il me declara ſon mal (4), adjouſtant, " qu'il ne vouloit point faire de teſtament, ſi non " ceſtuy ſeule, c'eſt qu'il me laiſſeroit tout (5); " et que j'avoye eſté la cauſe de ſa maladie (8), " pour l'ennuy qu'il avoit porté que j'euſſe l'affec- " tion tant eſloignée de luy (6). Et puis apres (7)"

(1) This

(1) This shews the paragraph preceding to relate the interview *immediately on her arrival*, and the paragraph before that to tell the King's *antecedent enquiries from her forerunner*.

(2) This sentence has been misplaced. It should be at the head of the paragraph preceding. There it is wanted. And here it is impertinent. "This "beirer," Scotch; "qui has fert tibi," Latin; "celuy qui vous porte ces lettres," French.

(3) All the conversation that follows, therefore, is what is represented to have passed in the evening of the Queen's arrival at Glasgow, January 23d, and *after supper*.

(4) What was the King's sickness? Crawford's Memoirs assert, that it "was generally reported "the effect of POYSON *." Melvill says, that "he "went to Glasgow, where he fell sick; *it being al-* "*ledged, that he had got* POISON *from some of his ser-* "*vants* †." Buchanan and Knox assert positively, that he was POISONED. Some of Mary's friends, both antient and modern, Blackwood, Cauſin, and Carte, affirm his disorder to have been THE SMALL POX. These letters assert it to have been the GREAT POX. Mr. Goodall and Dr. Robertson cannot decide with certainty, concerning its nature and its cause. Only the latter intimates, that it was commonly imputed to poison at the time. And Dr. Stuart gives this strong reason for suspecting, that the King was actually poisoned. "From what is "observed by Melvill," he says, "from the cir- "cumstance of the subsequent murder of the King,

* P. 12. † P. 77.

"and

"and from the characters of Murray and Bothwell, "Morton and Lethington, there is a high probabi- "lity that they had corrupted some of his domeſ- "tics to take this method of deſtroying him *." The practice of poiſoning, indeed, ſeems to have been as dreadfully common at this period in Scotland, as we know it to have once been ſince in France. The King was alledged at the time, we ſee, to have been poiſoned. Bothwell's family is ſaid by Buchanan to have been "in France de- "famit of poyſoning;" and his ſervants are ſaid to have been, "for the ſame caus, ſum tortu- "rit, ſum impriſonit, and all ſuſpectit †." But we know from an authority equal to Buchanan's, though anonymous, even from a letter of April the 3d, 1566, to Cecil; that one of Bothwell's ſervants confeſſed himſelf, and four of his fellow-ſervants, to have agreed upon aſſaſſinating or *poiſoning* Bothwell, at the inſtigation of Lethington; and that the other ſervants, upon exa-

* See Goodall, i. 324. Robertſon, i. 394. and Stuart, i. 187. The Doctors Stuart and Robertſon refer to Keith, 364, for Biſhop Leſley aſſerting the diſorder to be the Great Pox. But why do they refer to *Keith* for this? Why do they not refer to the Biſhop himſelf? Even for this ſhort reaſon, that they did not know where the Biſhop had ſaid ſo, and yet ſuppoſed Keith to have known. The fact is, I believe, that Keith has made a miſtake concerning the Biſhop, and that the latter no where aſſerts what the former quotes him for.

† Detection, 51. Anderſon, ii. and 255. Jebb, i. The mother of Murray is ſaid in Jebb i. 405, to have been an adept in poiſoning, *a Counteſs of Soiſons* in her day. And Elizabeth is intimated in Moyſe 128, to have put forth her hand in experiments of poiſoning upon King James.

mination,

mination, confeſſed the ſame *. Morton alſo was ſtrongly ſuſpected of poiſoning the Earl of Mar firſt, and the Earl of Athol afterwards; and was more than ſuſpected of poiſoning Lethington †. And, to mount up to the firſt and leader of this profligate triumvirate MURRAY, the Queen was apprehenſive herſelf of being poiſoned by ſome Proteſtants about her; Ruthven actually gave her a ring, as a pretended ſecurity from their poiſon; Murray actually conſidered the ſecurity as intended againſt *himſelf*; and actually urged Mary to puniſh Ruthven, for furniſhing it ‡. The King therefore was aſſuredly poiſoned. Crawford's and Melvill's united allegations prove deciſively the general opinion at the time to have been, that he was. The actual murder of the King ſo ſpeedily afterwards, confirms that opinion, and corroborates thoſe allegations, very ſtrongly. And the practice of poiſoning, ſo familiar to the wretches concerned in the murder, lends a great addition of weight to all, and carries all into a moral certainty.

That he was poiſoned then, was the *firſt* opinion. This appears from Crawford and Melvill. That he had either the Small or the Great Pox, was only a ſubſequent ſurmiſe. Yet, what is very ſurprizing, both the ſurmiſe and the opinion make their appearance together in this letter. Thus Darnly is called "this pokiſche" or pocky "man;" *not* having the ſmall pox, as Dr. Robertſon interprets the word §, as Blackwood intimated at the time, as

* Keith, App. 167. † Leſlæi Vita, 10, in Anderſon, i. Melvill, 118. Jebb, ii. 268. Crawford, 347—348. and Moyſe, 32, and 35. ‡ Keith, App. 125. § Hiſt. i. 394.

Cauſin

Cauſin intimated afterwards, and as Buchanan's Latin intimates here, in direct contradiction to his own Detection *, by its verſion of the main word into "variolato;" *but* infected with *the* pox, that greater one, to which the word *pocky* has always been emphatically referred. And accordingly the Queen refuſes to ſleep with him, becauſe "he be-"hovit to be purgeit" firſt †. Yet another paſſage hints, that he was poiſoned. "He is not over "mekle deformit," it ſays, "zit he hes RESSAVIT "verray mekle: he has almaiſt ſlane me with his "braith; it is worſe than zour uncle's; and zit I "cum na neirer unto him, bot in ane chyre at the "bed-feit, and he being at the uther end thairof ‡." That theſe words were meant to intimate he was poiſoned, we know from Buchanan himſelf §. So contradictory is Buchanan, to poiſon the King in one part of this letter, and to give him the ſmall pox in another. So contradictory too is this very letter, as, in the compaſs of a few lines only, to pronounce the King a pocky man, and yet to inſinuate that he was poiſoned! All this ariſes from the contrary opinions entertained generally at the time. It was firſt believed, that he was poiſoned. It was afterwards ſurmiſed, that he was poxed. The former, no doubt, was the report of the phyſicians, the ſervants, and the Queen. The latter was the counter-report circulated by the poiſoners, I ſuppoſe, to ſhield themſelves from detection; and afterwards varied by a miſtake in Buchanan, Blackwood, and Cauſin, into a report of the ſmall pox. And two of

* P. 16. † Sect. xii. ‡ Sect. xx. § Detection, 50—51. Anderſon, ii. and Jebb, ii. 254—255.

theſe reports very aſtoniſhingly meet together in the Scotch of this letter, and even all three in the Latin of it. This therefore proves the forgery very evidently. Different people at different times might think differently, concerning the diſorder. But one perſon could not at one time. The Queen, particularly, could not intimate that the King was poxed, and yet in the ſame breath inſinuate that he was poiſoned. And ſhe could ſtill leſs declare his diſorder to be poiſon, to be the great pox, and to be the ſmall pox, all in one inſtant.

(5) "Mak na teſtament, but only leif all thing "to me," Scotch; "nullum teſtamentum facturum, "niſi ad unum, quód omnia mihi relinqueret," Latin; "ne vouloit point faire de teſtament, ſinon "ceſtuy ſeule, c'eſt qu'il me laiſſeroit tout," French. The exact conformity of the French to the Latin is remarkable.

(6) This is another proof of the forgery. The King's diſorder is aſcribed to the pox, to poiſon, and to regret. The laſt, to be ſure, is a moſt dangerous cauſe of ſickneſs, eſpecially in minds ſo finely and elegantly organized, as Darnly's was. It worked very violently in him. Regret racked him with dreadful pains in his body. Regret threw out the black and putrid puſtules all over him. And regret gave a baleful taint to his breath. It was both the poiſon and the pox to him.——"That "I was ſa ſtrange unto him," Scotch; "me tam "alieno erga ſe animo fuiſſe," Latin; "que j'euſſe "l'affection tant eſloignée de luy," French.

(7) "Thus,"

(7) Thus," Scotch; "poſtea," Latin; "puis "apres," French.

(8) *Cauſam* is by ſome neglect of the preſs omitted in Goodall's edition. It is in Jebb's *. And it is alſo in the French.

"he ſaid, Ze aſk me (1) quhat I mene be the cruel-"tie contenit (2) in my letter? It is of zow alone, "that will not accept my offeris and repentance (3)."

"inquit, me rogas (1) quid ſibi velit illa crudelitas "cujus mentio eſt (2) in meis literis? Ad te unam "id ſpectat, quæ meas pollicitationes ac poeniten-"tiam recipere non vis (3)."

"vous de demandez (1), dit-il, que veut dire ceſte "cruauté dont je fay mention (2) en mes lettres? "Cela s'addreſſe ſeulement a vous, qui ne voulez "recevoir mes promeſſes ny ma repentance (3)."

(1) How ſtrangely does this come in here! The queſtion was aſked before ſupper. He then "an-"ſwerit," that—he was aſtoniſhed and glad to ſee her. But after ſupper, without any freſh queſtion, he anſwers to the point at once. Juſt ſo it is with "words froze in northern air." The queſtion is put in autumn, and the anſwer is ſpoken in the ſpring following.

(2) "Quhat I mene be the crueltie contenit," Scotch; "quid ſibi velit illa crudelitas cujus mentio

* i. 271.

"eſt," Latin; "que veut dire ceſte cruauté dont "je fay mention," French.

(3) The King is made to account for the cruelty falſely averred to be intimated in his letter to the Queen, and to ſay that he meant the Queen's cruelty to him, in not accepting his offers and repentance. Here the forger becomes more entangled in his own perverſions of the hiſtory. There were no offers made, there was no repentance averred, in the letter. Let his own hiſtorian tell us the contents of it. "He wrote to Mary," ſays Dr. Robertſon *, "and mentioned two things as grounds of diſguſt. "She herſelf, he ſaid, no longer admitted him into "any confidence, and had deprived him of all "power; and the nobles, after her example, treated "him with open neglect, ſo that he appeared in "every place without the dignity and ſplendor of "a king." Where is the repentance, and where are the offers, in all this? But let us go to that which is Dr. Robertſon's authority for his account of the letter, an addreſs of the Privy Council of Scotland to the Queen Dowager of France. "In the letter "he wrote the Queen," they ſay, "he grounds a "complaint on two points; one is, that her Ma- "jeſty truſts him not with ſo much authority, nor "is at ſuch pains to advance him, and make him "to be honoured in the nation, as ſhe at firſt did. "And the other point is, that nobody attends him, "and that the nobility deſert his company. To "theſe two points the Queen has made anſwer †." Where then, let me repeat, is the repentance of

* i. 376. † Keith, 350.

Darnly

Darnly in this letter, and where are his offers? Nowhere. Yet the forger has the impudence to insert both. And Dr. Robertson has the modesty, even when he gives an account directly contrary to the forger's, not to hint at the slightest fraud in him.

" I confes that I have failit, bot not into that quhilk " I ever denyit (1); and sicklyke hes failit tò (2) " sindrie of zour subjectis, quhilk ze have forge- " vin (3).

IX.—" I am zoung.

X.—" Ze will say, that ze have forgevin me " oft tymes, and zit yat I"

" Fateor a me peccatum esse, sed non in eo quod " semper negavi (1); peccavi etiam adversus (2) " quosdam civium tuorum, quod mihi abs te con- " donatum est (3).

IX.—" Ego sum adolescens.

X.—" Ac tu dicis, quód post veniam sæpe abs " te datam, adhuc"

" Je confesse, que j'ay grandement offensé, mais " non en ce que j'ay tousjours desnié (1); j'aussi " peché a l'encontre (2) d'aucuns de vos citoyens, " ce que vous m'avez pardonné (3).

IX.—" Je suis jeune.

X.—" Vous dites cependant, qu'apres m'avoir " ſouvent pardonné (3),"

(1) This alludes to the King's ſhare in the aſſaſſination of Rizzio. That ſhare he publickly and formally denied. And to make him deny it now to Mary, is only giving him a proper conſiſtency of character. But Mary never believed him. This appears from the abſtract of her anſwer to his letter, as given us by the Privy Council. " To theſe two " points," they ſay, " the Quene has made anſwer, " that if the caſe be ſo, he ought to blame himſelf, " not her; for that,—altho' they who did per- " petrate the murder of her faithful ſervant, had en- " tered her chamber with his knowledge, having " followed him cloſe at the back, and had named " him the chief of their enterprize; yet would ſhe " never accuſe him thereof, but did always excuſe " him, and was willing to appear as if ſhe believed " it not *." And, after ſuch an anſwer as this to his letter, even Darnly himſelf could not have had the folly to deny it to the Queen again.—" Grande- " ment" is *added* in the French.

(2) The Latin has here made a ſtrange miſtake, and drawn in the French after it. " Sicklyke," in ſuch a manner, " hes failit tò," have alſo failed in their duty, " ſindrie of zour ſubjectis," meaning Murray, Lethington, &c. But the Latin, with a wildneſs that I hardly know how, upon any principles of conſtruction, to account for, has rendered the clauſe thus, " peccavi etiam adverſus quoſdam civium

* Keith, 350.

" tuorum;"

" tuorum;" and the French comes ſhambling behind it in the ſame aukward pace, " j'auſſi peché " a l'encontre d'aucuns de vos citoyens." And yet, groſs as this corruption of the meaning is, it was firſt obſerved by Mr. Goodall, and produced as one of his proofs againſt the originality of the French*.

(3) " Zour ſubjectis," by the republican pen of Buchanan, is abſurdly rendered " cives" in Latin, and is therefore changed into " citoyens" in French. " Quhilk ze have forgevin," meaning which ſubjects, in conſequence of the blunder above is thus tranſlated, " quod mihi abs te condonatum eſt," and " ce que vous m'avez pardonné."

" returne to my faultis (1). May not ane man of " my age, for lacke of counſell (2), fall twyſe or " thryſe, or inlacke of his promeis, and at laſt (3) " repent himſelf, and be chaſtiſit be experience (4)? " Gif I may obtene pardoun, I proteſt I ſall never " mak fault agane (5). And I craif na uther thing, " bot yat we may be at bed and buird togidder, as " huſband and wyfe (6); and gif ze will not con- " ſent heirunto, I ſall never ryſe out of zis bed. I " pray zow, tell me zour reſolutioun. God knawis " how I am puniſchit for making my"

" ad peccata redeo (1). Nonne homo, quâ ego " ſum ætate, conſilio deſtitutus (2), bis aut ter labi " poteſt, aut pollicitis non ſtare, ac deinde (3) ſui

* See i. 91—93.

" errati pœnitere, et rerum usu (4) corrigi? Quód " si veniam impetrare potero, polliceor me nun- " quam posthac peccaturum (5). Nihil autem " aliud peto, nisi ut communi mensâ et lecto, tan- " quam conjuges, utamur (6): ad hæc nisi tu consen- " tias, nunquam ex hôc lecto resurgam. Te rogo, " ut mihi indices quid decreveris. Novit autem " Deus quid pœnarum feram, quód Deum"

" je returne en semblables fautes (1). Une homme " de mesme age que je suis, et destitué de conseil " (2), ne peut il pas faillir deux ou trois fois, ou ne " tenir pas quelque-fois promesse, et apres (3) se " repentir de sa faute, en se corrigeant par l'usage " des occurrences (4)? Que si je puis obtenir par- " don, je promets cy apres de ne plus offenser (5). " Je ne vous demande rien d'avantage, sinon que " nous ne faisions qu'une table et un lict, comme " ceux qui sont mariez (6): a cela si vouz ne con- " sentez, je ne releveray jamais de ce lict. Je vous " prie, de me faire entendre ce que vous avez deli- " beré: car Dieu scayt quelle peine je porte, de " ce que j'ay"

(1) " Ze have forgevin me oft tymes, and zit " yat I returne to my faultis," Scotch; " post ve- " niam abs te datam, adhuc ad peccata redeo," Latin; and " apres m'avoir souvent pardonné, je " returne en semblables fautes." The Latin departing from the Scotch in the turn of the expression, the French departs too.

(2) " Ane man of my age, for lacke of counsell," Scotch; " homo quâ ego sum ætate, consilio desti- " tutus,"

" tutus," Latin; and " une homme de meſme age " que je ſuis, et deſtitué de conſeil," French.

(3) " At laſt," Scotch; " deinde," Latin; " apres," French.

(4) " Experience," Scotch; " rerum uſu," Latin; " l'uſage des occurrences," French.

(5) " Gif," Scotch; " quòdſi," Latin; " que " ſi," French.

(6) All this ſpeech of Darnly's is in direct violation of hiſtorical truth. He was *not* the man which he is here repreſented to be. He was *very different*. His great aim was not the happineſs of conjugal affection. " So far as things could come to our " knowledge," ſay the Privy Council of Scotland, " he has had no ground of complaint; but, on the " contrary, that he has the very beſt of reaſon to " look upon himſelf as one of the moſt fortunate " princes in Chriſtendom, could he but know his " own happineſs, and make uſe of the good for- " tune which God has put into his hands *." But without one atom of ability for buſineſs, and without one particle of diſcretion in dignity, he was childiſhly eager for authority. He was a mere eunuch in ambition. " Multum cupiit, nihil potuit:" And, to obtain this authority, he entered into the buſineſs of murdering Rizzio in the very preſence of the Queen, then ſeveral months gone with child. This was ſuch an act of brutal ſavageneſs, as ſhews him to have been a monſter in feeling and in folly.

* Keith, 350.

And a ſpeech like this put into his mouth, therefore, is a violent breach of the unity of character, and a full evidence of the general forgery.—" At " bed and buird togidder as huſband and wyfe," Scotch; " communi mensâ et lecto, tanquam con- " juges, utamur," Latin; and " nous ne faiſions " qu'une table et un lict, comme ceux qui ſont " mariez," French.

" God of zow, and for having na uther thocht but " on zow (1); and gif (2) at any time I offend " zow, ze ar the caus, becaus, quhen ony offendis " me, gif, for my refuge (3), I micht playne unto " zow, I wald ſpeik it unto na uther body (4): bot " quhen I heir ony thing, not being familiar with " zow, neceſſitie conſtrains me to keip it in my " breiſt (5); and yat cauſes me to tyne my wit for " verray anger (6)."

" mihi te fecerim, ac nihil aliud niſi te cogitem " (1): quòd ſi (2), quando te offendam, tu ipſa " in causâ es, nam, cúm aliquis me offendit, ſi id " perfugium haberem (3), ut apud te queri poſſem, " ad neminem alium querelam deferrem (4); ſed " ſi quid audio, nec te familiariter utor, cogor " id in pectore clauſum tenere (5); quæ res ita me " angit, ut mentem et conſilium mihi prorſus ex- " cutiat (6)."

" fait de vous un Dieu, et que je ne penſe a autre " choſe qu'a vous (1); que ſi (2) je vous offenſe " quelque-

" quelquefois, vous en eſtes cauſe, veu que, quand " on m'offenſe, ſi j'avoye ce refuge (3), que je me " peuſſe plaindre vers vous, je ne feroie ma com- " plaint a autre (4); mais ſi j'entend quelque " choſe, et que je n'aye familiarité avec vous, je " ſuis contraint de la retenir cloſe en mon cœur " (5); ce qui tourmente tellement, qu'il m'oſte du " tout l'entendement et le conſeil (6)."

(1) This idolatry of Darnly's is ſomething like what the Heathens practiſed at times. They whipt and ſcourged their idols occaſionally, if they did not indulge them in their wiſhes. And, to ſpeak ſeriouſly, we may here ſee the impudent forgery of the letter in its proper view, if we only turn to two or three circumſtances in Darnly's conduct. He entered into a *formal* and *expreſs* agreement with the ruffians who committed the murder upon Rizzio, of doing it even " in preſence of the " Queen's Majeſty." and of ſupporting them afterwards for it. He even *ſolicited* them to do it. He even intended to have done it *with his own hand*, if they had not undertaken it for him *. At laſt he not only united with them to do it, but actually *inſiſted* upon their doing it *in her very preſence*, and *at her very table*; the devoted victim flying behind her for refuge, laying hold even of her garments for protection, and even throwing his arms round her waiſt for ſecurity; even there being ſtabbed by one of the villains *over her ſhoulders*, with ſo much fury too, that he was obliged to leave

* Goodall, i. 268 and 264.

the

the dagger in his body; being then forced from his hold, while *cocked piſtols were preſented to herſelf*; being dragged away bleeding and ſcreaming into an adjoining chamber, and being inſtantly diſpatched there with a variety of wounds *. And, when

* The perſon who preſented the piſtol to her, is ſaid by Barnſtaple in his Maria Stuarta (Jebb, i. 396) to have been "An-"dreas Carreus." But Bedford and Randolph, in a letter at the time, mention "Andrewe Car of Fawdenſide," as the perſon "whom the Queen ſayth *would have ſtroken her with a dagger*." And they ſay it was "one Patrick Balentine,—who, alſo her "Grace ſayth, *offered a dag againſt her belly with the cock down*" (Robertſon, ii. 357). Theſe two peculiar monſters of enormity ought to be dragged forth into particular view, and their names branded with a particular mark of infamy, for their conduct upon this occaſion. The honour of humanity demands it at our hands.

Let me alſo remark, that Mr. Goodall, i. 247--272, has thrown a new light upon the motives and plan of this horrid tranſaction, but has confounded hiſtory and himſelf concerning one circumſtance leading to it. "David," ſays Buchanan, Hiſt. xvii. 345, "interea ſingulos circumibat, animoſque per-"tentabat, quid de abſentibus decreturus quiſque eſſet, ſi a re-"liquo conventu Προεδρος legeretur." This he underſtands to mean, That David aſked each what each would vote for concerning the exiled lords, if each was choſen a lord of the articles. But it clearly means, as it had always been interpreted to mean (Spotſwood, 194). That he aſked the lords ſingly how they would vote, if he, David Rizzio, ſhould be choſen ſpeaker by the parliament. Προεδρος can never ſignify a lord of the articles. Buchanan's appellation for thoſe lords in general, the only time (I believe) that he mentions them, is "Apolecti" (Hiſt. ix. 167). Nor can Προεδρος ſignify any officer of ſtate, except the ſpeaker or preſident of an aſſembly. The ſame interpretation is alſo given, as Mr. Goodall himſelf acknowledges, in Knox's hiſtory of the times; who equally with Buchanan

when the provoſt and citizens of Edinborough came down to the reſcue of their Queen, ſo outrageouſly inſulted by this body of banditti under the conduct of her huſband; theſe brutal wretches, with an addition of ſavageneſs, declared to her face, that, if ſhe offered to ſpeak to the people, "they "ſhould cut her in collops, and caſt her over the "walls;" and their brutal captain, concurring in all their utmoſt ſavageneſs with them, called to the crowds, and commanded them to retire *. This is perhaps, when contemplated in all its varieties of horror, the time, the place, the woman, and the Queen; ſuch a woman, and ſuch a Queen; the pregnancy, the far-advanced pregnancy; the perſons who were the actors, the man who was the leader, the deed, the mode, and the language; beyond any thing that occurs, among all the wildeſt eruptions of brutality and barbariſm, in the human hiſtory. Yet the forger of this letter had the ſtupid effrontery, to make Mary the god

Buchanan hints at the deſign of giving the Chancellorſhip to David (i. 272). And it occurs alſo in Crawford's Memoirs. "David," ſays the author, "—was likely to be choſen Chan-"cellor (Speaker or Preſident) in Morton's ſtead," p. 7. The fact indeed is obviouſly falſe, for the two grand reaſons aſſigned by Mr. Goodall (i. 271), that David was not naturalized, and therefore could not be Chancellor to the kingdom; and that David did not underſtand Scotch, and therefore could not be Speaker to the parliament. But the faction circulated the lie. And all the factious, the Buchanans, the Knoxes, and the rabble-rout of ſedition, with even ſome of the honeſt and the judicious, particularly the worthy and reſpectable author of the Memoirs, ſwallowed the lie without conſideration.

* Keith, 331—332. App. 123. Melvill, 64. and Crawford, 10.

of

of Darnly's idolatry, and to assert he had no other thought but on her; at a time too, when this execrable fact, with all its train of horrible particulars, was yet fresh and lively in the minds of the whole nation. He wanted to raise the character of the King, and to sink that of the Queen. He was therefore compelled to change the whole tenour of history, to cast the two characters anew, and to give each the other's part in this play of his. And he thus betrayed the forgery directly to every mind.

But what says Dr. Robertson to this act of the King's? He says, as all mankind have ever said, and as common sense and common decency must for ever say. "Every circumstance here," he tells us, "fills us with horror.—The place, chosen for "committing such a deed, was the Queen's bed-"chamber," a closet within it. "Though Mary "was now in the sixth month of her pregnancy," near the end of her seventh *, "and though Riz-"zio might have been seized elsewhere without "any difficulty, THE KING PITCHED UPON THIS "PLACE, that he might enjoy the malicious plea-"sure of reproaching Rizzio with his crimes be-"fore the Queen's face †." And he afterwards says in general of the King, that "by his folly and "ingratitude he lost the heart of a woman, who "doated on him to distraction ‡." If however Dr. Robertson says true, the letters are the most impudent of liars. Or, if the letters are true, the Doctor must exchange situations with them. Two

* Keith, 331. † i. 358. ‡ i. 400.

such

ſuch intelligences cannot preſide in one orb of hiſtory. Either the one or the other muſt be diſlodged from it. The Doctor is undoubtedly true; and yet, ſtrange to tell! *according to the Doctor himſelf*, the letters are *not* falſe. The Doctor himſelf ſtill conſiders them as true. He formally vindicates their authenticity. He gravely interweaves them with the thread of his hiſtory. And he founds his accumulated ſlanders of Mary, in a peculiar manner, upon them. But how is this? *Can* light and darkneſs blend in the ſame ſphere? *Can* the letters be at once convicted of groſs and deliberate falſhoods in facts, and ſtill be authentic in themſelves? They certainly cannot. The Doctor himſelf is compelled to go againſt them. And ſtill the Doctor aſſerts them to be genuine.

YET BRUTUS IS AN HONOURABLE MAN!

(2) In the clauſe preceding, "autem" is added n Latin, and "car" in French. In the preſent, 'and gif," Scotch, is anſwered by "quód ſi," Latin; and "que ſi," French.

(3) "For my refuge," Scotch; "ſi id perſu- 'gium *haberem*," Latin; and "ſi j'*avoye* ce re- 'fuge," French.

(4) "I wald ſpeik it to na uther body," Scotch; ad neminem alium *querelam deferrem*," Latin; nd "je ne *feroie* ma *complaint* a autre," French.

(5) "Keip it in my breiſt," Scotch; "in pectore *clauſum* tenere," Latin; and "la retenir *cloſe* en mon cœur," French.

(6) "Cauſes

(6) " Cauſes me to tyne my wit," Scotch, to loſe my underſtanding *; " *meutem et conſilium* " mihi *prorſus* excutiat," Latin; " il m'oſte du *tout* " *l'entendement et le conſeil*," French. And " yat " cauſes me," Scotch; " quæ res ita me *angit*, ut," Latin; and " ce qui *tourmente* tellement, qu'il," French. All theſe paſſages concur to prove beyond a poſſibility of doubt, that the French was not the original, that the Latin was the original to it, and that the Scotch was no tranſlation from either. Indeed the fact is ſo ſtrikingly apparent in theſe and a thouſand other paſſages, that a reflecting mind is amazed at firſt, to think the diſcovery was left to Mr. Goodall.

XI.—" I anſwerit ay unto him, bot that wald be " ovir lang to wryte at lenth (1). I aſkit quhy he " wald pas away in ye Inglis ſchip (2). He de- " nyis it, and ſweris thairunto (3); bot he grantis " that he ſpake with the men (4)."

XI.—" Ego ſemper ei reſpondebam, ſed nimis " longum eſſet omnia perſcribere (1). Rogavi eum " cur diſceſſum adornaret in iſtâ nave Anglicâ (2). " Ille id pernegat, adjecto etiam juramento (3); " ſed confeſſus eſt ſe cum Anglis (4) colloquu- " tum."

XI.—" Je lui reſpondoye tousjours, mais il ſe- " roit long de tout eſcrire (1). Je luy ay demandé

* Sonnet ixth.

" pourquoy

" pourquoy ils deliberoit s'en aller en ce navoire " Anglois (2). Ce qu'il nia, voire avec jure- " ment (3); mais il a confeſſé avoir parlé avec " les Anglois (4)."

(1) This is another proof of forgery. That the Queen ſhould repeat all the King's defences of himſelf, and ſhould not repeat her replies to them; is contrary to every principle of the human heart. Our natural fondneſs for ourſelves, puts us conſtantly upon a conduct the very reverſe of all this. We ſhorten the defences, we lengthen the replies. Or, if we are fair enough to give the full ſubſtance of the former, we are always partial enough to do ſo by the latter. And we ſee this very Queen acting accordingly in this very letter; relating the meſſage of apology ſent her by Darnly's father, reciting the addition made to it by the bearer, but rehearſing all the ſubſtantial part of her reply to the former, and finally declaring that ſhe ſilenced the latter. Yet the forger was obliged to take this unnatural courſe, as no other would carry him to his aim. To make the Queen reply to theſe pretended allegations of Darnly's, muſt have been to confute them at once. And he might as well have confuted them, in the opinion of every man of judgment; as he has betrayed the forgery which he wanted to proſecute, by not doing it. But he thought, no doubt, as Partridge the almanack-maker is ſaid to have ſpoken, and as knaves of all times naturally think, that the men of judgment are to the fools of the world only as one to a hundred,

dred, and that, if he could gain these, he cared little about those. The event indeed seems to have justified his choice awhile. The almanack-predictions of Partridge retained their credit for years. The letters of Murray have not yet lost theirs. But the men of judgment will turn the tide of opinions, at last. Partridge has been long considered as an impostor. And Murray is daily hastening to join him in that state of obscurity, where the letters and the almanacks will repose upon one shelf, once the favourites of many, and now the contempt of all.

(2) Here a fresh evidence of the forgery presents itself before us. At this time, January 23d, 1567, all design of passing away in an English or any other ship, had been long laid aside. It was taken up at least four or five months before, about September 26th *. Darnly mentioned it to Le Croc, the French embassadour. "He told me,"—says the embassadour in a letter of October 15th, "that he had a mind to go beyond sea, in a sort of "desperation. I said to him what I thought proper "at the time, but still I could not believe that he "was in earnest." But as Lenox informed the Queen in a letter which she received on Michael-

* It was after the Queen's departure from Stirling (Keith, 345); and she departed about September the 25th. "She "departed ten or twelve days ago," says a letter of October the 8th (Keith, 348). Lenox also came to Stirling "while the "Queen was absent," staid there "two or three days," went back to Glasgow, wrote a letter to the Queen, and she received it "on St. Michael's day" (Keith, 348). She departed and he came, therefore, on the 25th.

mas

mas-day, it had been taken up even long before this time. "FORMERLY," he ſays, "both by *letters* and *meſſages*, and *now* alſo by communication with his ſon, he had endeavoured to divert him" from it *. Le Croc afterwards ſays, in a poſtſcript to his own letter, "now I believe he will not go out of the kingdom, though I perceive that he ſtill entertains ſome diſpleaſure †." Accordingly, Sir Robert Melvill ſays in a letter of Oct. 22d from London, "ſens my depairture I heir *he is ſtayit*, bot hes not ſens come neir the Quene ‡." And that Le Croc was right in his belief, and Melvill in his intelligence, time ſhewed. The ſhip, which Darnly had in readineſs, was diſmiſſed; and he ſtill continued in Scotland. But this perverſion of the hiſtory was made, for the purpoſe of new-decorating the character of Darnly. And that infamous pimp to the luſt of power in Murray, Buchanan, was not afraid to venture upon the ſame perverſion, even in hiſtory itſelf. "Ibi," at Holyrood-houſe, "cúm reſcitum eſſet," he ſays in full oppoſition to his own Detection §, "Regem *convaleſcere*, ac vim veneni ætatis vigore et corporis firmitate naturali ſuperatam," a fact that happened, as appears from the rebel journal itſelf ‖, in the end of January 1567; "novum de eo tollendo conſilium initur: aliquot etiam e nobilitate in conſcientiam ſceleris aſciti: *cúm interea ad reginam delatum eſſet*, Regem de fugâ in Galliam aut Hiſpaniam cogitare, eâque de re

* Keith, 348. † Ibid. 345—347. ‡ Ibid. 351.
§ P. 17. ‖ App. N° x.

" cum Anglis, qui navem in æſtuario Glottæ ſtan-
" tem habebant, collocutum *." Here the remarkable coincidence of the letter and the hiſtory, in an impudent diſtortion of the facts, ſhews the hiſtory to have been modelled upon the letter. Buchanan condeſcended to adopt the falſhoods of another, though he was himſelf an Original Genius in lying. He felt his mind impregnated with a peculiar portion of that ſpirit of falſhood, which is ſo largely poſſeſſed by the great " Father of Lies," and which he ſo liberally communicates to ſome of his choſen children. And he exerted this ſpirit in his hiſtory, as in all probability his equal and rival in falſhoods had previouſly exerted it in the letters, not merely for the petty purpoſe of accommodating either to the other, but with the grand view which he uniformly purſued in both †; that of abuſing Mary, his patroneſs and benefactreſs, of branding her forehead with the hotteſt iron of infamy which his underſtanding could provide, and of breaking down all the fences and guards of truth, in the eagerneſs of his knavery againſt her.

But Mary herſelf has told us a circumſtance concerning him, that ſerves ſufficiently to account for his flagitious conduct. " Buchanan," ſhe ſaid, " is " KNOWN to be a LEWD MAN and ATHEIST ‡." He was one of thoſe wretched men therefore, who ſuffer their paſſions to beguile their underſtandings, who plunge into ſcepticiſm to eſcape from ſenſibility, who deſtroy the tone of their minds while they are blunting the force of their feelings, and at laſt

* Hiſt. xviii. 350. † App. N° xii. ‡ Goodall, i. 311

become

become devoid equally of principle and of ſhame, ready for any fabrication of falſhood, and capable of any operation in villainy *.

(3) This is perhaps a more impudent ſtroke of forgery, than any which we have hitherto met with. That the King's deſign of going abroad, which was firſt taken up in July or Auguſt at leaſt, and even owned in September, ſhould be referred by the hiſtory and the letter to the January ſucceeding, is certainly a very bold meaſure in impudence. But it is a greater, ſurely, to make Darnly *deny* that he had ever ſuch a deſign, to make him *ſwear* to the denial, and to make Mary *not* reply either to the affirmation or to the oath. The King, as I have already ſhewn, imparted his deſign to his father in Auguſt or July before. "Formerly, both by let-

* Buchanan does not appear to have uſed much art, in working up the falſhoods, even of his Detection. He particularly ſeems to have often taken the very ready method of a fool's falſifications, by giving the acts of his patrons to Mary, and Mary's to his patrons. This is ſtrikingly apparent in the ſtory of the propoſed divorce at Cragmillar (Anderſon, ii. 13—14. and Jebb, i. 241); where the overture, which was actually made by Murray and Lethington (Goodall, ii. 316—321), is attributed to Mary; and the very objection, which Mary herſelf made to it, is aſcribed by this inverter of hiſtory to one of them. See alſo Anderſon, i. 14. Defence of Mary. But in 1720, it ſeems, another Buchanan appeared at London, with another ſet of Mary's letters. Theſe were eleven in number, all written to Bothwell, and found in his ſecretary's cloſet ſince his death (Keith, 367). Yet, as there was no Elizabeth to lend her bold ſanction to theſe forgeries, they ſunk at once under their own weight of impoſition, "and dropp'd dead-born from "the preſs."

"ters and meſſages, and now alſo by commu-
"nication with his ſon, he had endeavoured to
"divert him" from it. The King alſo mentioned it to the French embaſſadour, as I have equally ſhewn, about the 26th of September, at Stirling. "He told me there, that he had "a mind to go beyond ſea, in a ſort of deſ-"peration." YET HE IS HERE MADE TO DENY IT. "Since that time," adds Le Croc, "the "Earl of Lenox, his father, came to viſit him; "and he has written a letter to the Queen, ſigni-"fying, that it is not in his power to *divert his ſon* "*from his intended voyage*, and prays her Majeſty "to uſe her intereſt therein." YET DARNLY IS STILL MADE TO DENY THE DESIGN. "This let-"ter from the Earl of Lenox," ſays Le Croc, "the "Queen received on *Michaelmas-day* in the morn-"ing; and that ſame evening the King arrived "here about ten of the clock. When he and the "Queen were a-bed together, her Majeſty took "occaſion to talk to him about the contents of his "father's letter, and beſought him to declare to "her the ground of *his deſigned voyage*; but in "this he would by no means ſatisfy her." YET DARNLY IS STILL MADE TO DENY THE DESIGN. "Early next morning," Le Croc goes on, "the "Queen ſent for me, and for all the Lords and "other counſellors: as we were all met in their "Majeſties preſence, the Biſhop of Roſs, by the "Queen's commandment, declared to the council "the King's intention to go beyond ſea, *for which* "*purpoſe he had a ſhip lying ready to ſail*; and that "her

" her Majesty's information hereof proceeded not " from the rumour of the town, but from a letter " written to her by his own father, the Earl of " Lenox: *which letter was likewise read in council.*" YET THE DARNLY OF THE LETTERS SWEARS HE HAD NO SUCH PURPOSE. " And thereafter the " Queen prayed the King to declare, in presence " of the lords, and before me, the reason of *his pro-* " *jected departure*; since he would not be pleased " to notify the same to her in private betwixt " themselves. She likewise took him by the hand, " and besought him for God's sake to declare if " she had given him any occasion for *this resolution*; " and entreated he might deal plainly, and not " spare her. Moreover all the lords likewise said " to him, that if there was any fault on their part, " upon his declaring it, they were ready to reform " it. And I likewise took the freedom to tell him, " that *his departure* must certainly affect either his " own or the Queen's honour; that if the Queen " had afforded any ground for it, his declaring the " same would affect her Majesty; as on the other " hand, if he should *go away* without giving any " cause for it, this thing could not at all redound " to his praise."—Yet forgery, with all " the rash " dexterity of wit," represents the King as SWEARING he NEVER MEANT TO GO AWAY. " After " several things of this kind had passed amongst " us, the King at last declared, that he had no " *ground* at all given him for *such a deliberation*; " and thereupon he went out of the chamber of " presence, saying to the Queen, Adieu, Madam,

" *you ſhall not ſee my face for a long ſpace*; after which " he likewiſe bad me farewell; and next, turning " himſelf to the lords in general, ſaid, Gentlemen, " Adieu. *He is not yet embarked*; but we *receive* " *advertiſement from day to day*, that *he ſtill holds* " *on his reſolution*, and *keeps a ſhip in readineſs*." Yet Mary is deſcribed by this ANNIUS of Scotland, as ADMITTING his DENIAL of any ſuch reſolution, WITHOUT OBJECTION and WITHOUT REPLY. And, as Le Croc ſubjoins in a poſtſcript to this letter, " during the five or ſix days I continued " at Liſleburgh," Edinborough, " after the Queen " left it," who left it on the 7th or 8th, and reached Jedborough on the 8th or 9th, of October *; " the King, who had gone to Glaſgow, ſent " me word to come and meet him half way be- " tween Liſleburgh and Glaſgow. I obeyed him, " and found his father, the Earl of Lenox, with " him. We had *much* communing together, and " I remonſtrated to him *every* thing that I could " think of: and *now I believe he will not go out of* " *the kingdom*; though I can perceive that he ſtill " entertains ſome diſpleaſure. I came hither to " Jedburgh, *on purpoſe to ſignify to the Queen*, what " *the King had ſpoken unto me*, and *what I had ſaid* " *to him* †." Yet the Queen is pictured by this caricatura-painter, as ſwallowing the OATHS of the King that he had NEVER formed ſuch a reſolution, WITHOUT HESITATION and WITHOUT ANSWER. But, what aggravates the impudence of all this, the falſe account of the whole was drawn up,

* Goodall, i. 237, 303, and 308. † Keith, 346—347.

inſerted

inſerted in the letters, and publiſhed to the Scotch parliament, to the Engliſh commiſſioners, and to the world, at a time when the true was known to ſo many; when the whole had been ſtated in a letter from Lenox to Mary, had been canvaſſed in converſation betwixt Lenox, Darnly, and Le Croc, and had even been formally brought before the privy council. And this gives a ruffian air of effrontery to the *letters*, ſuperior to any which the *hiſtory* can bear; the latter not being publiſhed till ſome years afterwards, and the former within a few months only from the real incidents.

(4) The coincidence of the letter and the hiſtory here is remarkable. He grants, ſays the former, "that he ſpake with the men." He, ſays the latter, "eâ—de re cum Anglis, qui navem in æſtu-"ario Glottæ ſtantem habebant, collocutum." And what ſhews the Latin tranſlation to have been made by the hand of Buchanan himſelf, "the "men" of the Scotch are rendered "cum Anglis" by the Latin, and conſequently "avec les Ang-"lois" by the French. Only the hiſtorical forger is not ſo impudent, as the epiſtolary is. He ſet his name to the hiſtory, he did not to the letters. This would pull back the forward ſteps, even of immodeſty itſelf. Accordingly Buchanan in his narrative plainly allows, that the King *had* formed a deſign of going abroad; while Lethington in the letters makes him deny it, and even to ſanction his denial by oaths.

" Efter this I inquyrit him of the inquiſitioun (1)
" of Hiegait (2). He denyit the ſame, quhill I
" ſchew him the verray wordis was ſpokin. At
" quhilk tyme (3) he ſaid, that Mynto had adver-
" tiſit him, that it was ſaid that ſum (4) of the
" counſell had broucht an letter to me to be ſub-
" ſcrivit, to put him in preſoun, and to ſlay him
" gif he maid reſiſtence (5). And he (6) aſkit the
" ſame at Mynto himſelf; quha anſwerit, that he
" belevit ye ſame to be trew. The morne (7) I
" will ſpeik to him upon this point (8). As to
" the reſt of Willie Hiegait's, he confeſſit it (9),"

" Poſtea rogavi de quæſtione (1) Gulielmi (2)
" Hiegait. Id quoque negavit, donec ipſa verba,
" quæ prolata erant, ei detuliſſem. Tum (3) dixit
" ſe certiorem a Minto factum, dici quendam e
" concilio literas de ſe mittendo in carcerem, ac,
" niſi pareret (5), occidendo, ad me detuliſſe ut
" ſubſcriberem: ac ſe (6) idem ex ipſo Mynto quæ-
" ſiſſe; eumque reſpondiſſe, ſibi verum videri. De
" hôc capite (8) eum cras (7) conveniam. Quod
" ad reliqua de Gulielmo Hiegait, ea confeſſus
" eſt (9),"

" Apres je l'ay enquis touchant la diſpute (1) de
" Gillaume (2) Hiegait. Ce qu'il a auſſi deſnié,
" juſques a ce que je luy ay rapporté les meſmes
" paroles qu'il avoit proferées. Alors (3) il dit,
" qu'il eſtoit adverty par Minto, qu'on diſoit,
" qu'un (4) du conſeil m'avoit apporté des lettres,
" afin

" afin de les ſigner, pour le faire mettre en priſon, " voire, s'il n'obeiſſoit (5), pour le tuer ; et qu'il " (6) enquiſt le ſemblable de Minto ; qui reſpondit, " que cela luy ſembloit vray. De ce chef (8) je " luy en parleray demain (7). Quant au reſte " touchant Gillaume Hiegait, il l'a confeſſé (9),"

(1) The Frenchman, deceived by the ambiguity of the word " quæſtione," rendered it " diſpute," and ſo altered the whole meaning.

(2) " Hiegait," Scotch ; " Gulielmi Hiegait," Latin ; " Gillaume Hiegait," French. " Quoque," Latin, and " auſſi," French, are added.

(3) " At quhilk tyme," Scotch ; " tum," Latin ; " alors," French.

(4) " Sum," Scotch ; " quendam," Latin ; " un," French.

(5) " Maid reſiſtence," Scotch ; " niſi pareret," Latin ; " s'il n'obeiſſoit," French.

(6) " And he aſkit," Scotch ; " ac ſe quæſiſſe," Latin ; " et qu'il enquiſt," French.

(7) Mary appears before to have pretendedly written this part of the letter, the evening after her arrival at Glaſgow, the evening of January 24th, 1567. And " the morne" or next day muſt mean Jan. 25th.

(8) " This point," Scotch ; " hôc capite," Latin ; " ce chef," French. This Mynto was " Johne " Stewart, of Mynto, Knycht, proveſt of Glaſ-

" gow,"

" gow," and deeply embarked in the rebellion afterwards *.

(9) All this tale concerning William Hiegait is very confuſedly told here, and affords us another evidence of the forgery. On the 20th of January 1567, the day before the Queen ſet out for Glaſgow, ſhe wrote a letter to her embaſſadour at Paris. I have already made good uſe of it in her favour. But I have ſtill more to make. In this letter ſhe explains the buſineſs, which is here alluded to. " A ſervand of zouris," ſhe ſays, " namit William " Walcar, came to our preſens, being for the tyme " at Sterveling, and declarit to us how it was not " only oppinly bruted, bot alſua he had hard be " report of perſonis quhome he eſteimit lufferis of " us, that the King, be the aſſiſtence of ſum of our " nobility, ſuld tak the prince our ſone, and crown " him; and being crownit, as his fader ſuld tak " upon him the government," *the very plan of uſurpation* that was afterwards purſued by *Murray*, inſtead of Darnly; " he [Walcar], being preſſit, " nominat *William Hiegait* in Glaſguo, alſua zour " ſervand, for his cheif author.—Quhairupon we " tuke occaſion, with diligence, to ſend for Hie- " gait, quha being *inquirit* in our counſell, of his " communicatioun had with Walcar, he denyit, " als weill apairt as being confronted togidder, that " evir he talkit with the ſaid Walcar upon ony ſic " purpoſſis. Onlie this far he confeſſit, that he " hard of a bruit how the King ſuld be putt in

* Keith, 437.

" ward;

" ward; and for his author in that poynt, namit a " ſervand of the Erle of Eglintonis callit Cauld- " well; qua being alſua ſent for and examinat, " expreſſitlie denyit that evir he ſpak or entrit in " ſic termis with William Hiegait. This purpois of " the bruit of the Kinges warding, wes ſchewen be " Hiegait to the Laird of Mynto, quha agane de- " clarit it to the Erle of Lenox, and be him the King " was maid participant thairof: by quhais deſyre " and commandement Hiegait agane (as he alle- " geit) ſpak Cauldwell *." This incident appears to be very different from all the foregoing. It is recent enough, to have employed the converſation of the King and Queen, at their interview on Jan. 23d—24th, &c. The date of the letter reciting it, is only Jan. 20th before. But then it is ſo told, as Mary could not have told it. She tells it on Jan. 20th. She is again made to allude to it three days afterward. Let us compare the alluſion and the recital together.

The *adulterous* Mary ſays, that ſhe enquired of the King concerning the inquiſition of Hiegait before her council, and that he denied it before he ſpecified the very words that had been ſpoken. But why ſhould Mary interrogate Darnly concern- ing this inquiſition? He knew nothing of the *fact* of the inquiſition. Nor could Mary want to know any thing concerning *that*. And, as to the *object* of the inquiſition, all that part of it which alone he could have denied, viz. that he himſelf was to take the Prince, crown him, and uſurp all the

* Keith, Pref. viii.

royalty as regent to him; this did not appear in Hiegait's inquisition at all. It was only in Walcar's declaration to the Queen herself. And the very words spoken must have been Walcar's, not Hiegait's. On the mention of these, the King excused himself for having entertained such a scheme, by the intelligence which he received from Mynto, of a design to send him to prison, and to put him to death if he refused to go. But, by the King's account, *Mynto* had apprized *him* of this reported design; *he* asked Mynto concerning it, and *Mynto* told *him* he thought the report true; when in fact Mynto told it, not to *him*, but to his *father Lenox*, when *Lenox* was the person that communicated it to the *King*, and when the *King* afterwards spoke, not to Mynto, but to *Hiegait*, about it. Nor was this reported design such, as the King is here made to represent it, that "sum of the counsell had "broucht ane letter to Mary to be subscrivit, to "put him in presoun, and to slay him gif he maid "resistence." It was merely, that the King "suld "be put in ward." Nor did Mynto declare *more* to Lenox, nor did Lenox communicate *more* to the King, nor did the King speak of *more* to Hiegait. And then as to "the rest of Willie Hiegait's," which "he confessit," it is this very point again, about sending him to prison. With such wild confusion is this incident alluded to by the *adulterous* Mary on the 23d of January, though it is very clearly related by the *innocent* Mary on the 20th before! What *Walcar* said, is attributed to *Hiegait*. What *Lenox* said, is given to *Mynto*. What the King said to *Hiegait*, is addressed to *Mynto*. The

great

great object of all is made very different. And, as the whole drift of the paragraph is calculated to exculpate the King, for having embarked in a measure, so violent, absurd, and unnatural, which was remotely suggested in all probability by the very man, who executed it afterwards in all its parts, and who would soon have wrested the sceptre out of the weak hands of such an usurper, when once it had been wrenched by him out of the Queen's; so it proves the fact by endeavouring to excuse it, and, what is infinitely more important, proves to a demonstration the forgery of the letters, by its confused and erroneous statement of the history.

" bot it was the morne after my cumming (1) or " he did it."

" nec id nisi postridie quâm veneram (1)."

" mais non jusques au jour d'apres mon arrivée " (1)."

(1) This is also a dash from the pen of forgery. This part of the letter pretends to be written the day after Mary's arrival at Glasgow, or on Jan. 24, 1567. Hence the letter speaks before of what the King did " zister-nicht," and of the conversation that passed with him before and after supper. And, as we shall soon see, it was written in the evening or night of this day. The " morne" or day " efter" her " cuming," therefore, must be the very day on which she was writing. She relates the discourse,

diſcourſe, that took place betwixt her and the King the evening before, concerning William Hiegait. About one point in it, ſhe ſays, ſhe will aſk him again the next day, Jan. 25th. But concerning another, ſhe ſays, he did not own this till the day afterwards. Yet how comes the letter-writer to call this day "the day after her coming," when it was that very day on which ſhe was pretendedly writing? From the ſame principle, on which we have ſeen the very town in which ſhe was pretendedly writing at the moment, denominated *that* town. The mind cannot be kept continually under the reſtraint of fraud. It will aſſert its native freedom at times. It will break away from the preſcribed line of ideas. And, imperceptibly to itſelf, it will throw out ſome circumſtances, that betray the bondage in which it is acting. Mary, writing of what had been confeſſed the day of her writing, would have called it *this* day. Nature could not have acted otherwiſe. But Lethington and art, putting themſelves in Mary's and Nature's place, could not ſo far diveſt themſelves of their own propriety, as to refrain from calling it *the day after her coming*. And they diſcovered themſelves by the act.

§ V.

§ V.

LETTER THE FIRST CONTINUED.

XII.—" He wald verray fane that I fuld ludge " in his ludgeing (1). I refuſit it, and ſaid to him, " that he behovit to be purgeit, and that culd not " be done heir. He ſaid to me, I heir ſay ze have " brocht ane lytter with zow; bot I had raither " have paſſit with zow (2). I trow he belevit that " I wuld have ſend him away priſoner (3). I an- " ſwerit that I wuld tak him with me to Craig- " millar, quhair the mediciner (4) and I micht " help him, and not be far from my ſone."

XII.—" Magnopere cupiebat ut ego in ejus " hoſpitio apud eum diverterem (1). Ego recu- " ſavi, ac dixi ei opus eſſe purgatione, nec id híc " fieri poſſe. Dixit ſe accepiſſe, quód lecticam me- " cum attuliſſem; ſe veró maluiſſe mecum uná pro- " ficiſci (2). Credebat, opinor, quód in carcerem eum aliquó (3) amandatura eſſem. Ego reſpondi, quód ductura mecum eſſem ad Cragmillarium, ubi et medici (4) et ego poſſemus ei adeſſe, neque longé a meo filio abeſſe."

XII.—" Il deſiroit fort que j'allaſſe loger en ſon hoſtel (1); ce que j'ay refuſé, luy diſant, qu'il " avoit beſoin de purgation, et que cela ne ſe

" pouvoit

" pouvoit faire [icy]. Il adjousta, qu'il avoit en-
" tendu que j'avoye amené une litiere, et qu'il eust
" mieux aymé aller ensemble avec moy (2). J'es-
" time qu'il pensoit que je le vouluſſe envoyer
" prisonnier quelque part (3). Je respondy, que
" je le meneroye avec moy à Cragmillar, afin que
" là les medicins (4) et moy le peuſſions secourir,
" et que je m'esloignaſſe de mon fils."

(1) " Ludge in his ludgeing," Scotch; " in ejus
" hoſpitio *apud eum* diverterem," Latin; " loger
" en ſon hoſtel," French, from the corrected La-
tin.

(2) " *I* heir ſay *ze* have brocht ane litter with
" *zow*, bot *I* had rather have paſſit with *zow*,"
Scotch; " Dixit *ſe* accepiſſe quod lectícam *mecum*
" attuliſſem, *ſe* veró maluiſſe *mecum* unâ proficiſci,"
Latin; " il adjousta, qu'*il* avoit entendu que *j*'avoye
" amené une litiere, et qu'*il* euſt mieux aymé aller
" enſemble avec *moy*," French.

(3) " Send him away priſoner," Scotch; " in
" carcerem eum *aliquó* amandatura eſſem," Latin;
" envoyer priſonnier *quelque part*," French.

(4) " Mediciner," Scotch; " medici," Latin;
" medicins," French.

" He anſwerit, that he was reddy when I pleiſit (1),
" ſa I wald aſſure him of his requeſt,"

" Ille reſpondit, ſe, ubi vellem, paratum eſſe (1)
" modó de eo quod peteret ſecurum ſe facerem."

" Il reſpondit, qu'il eſtoit preſt d'aller, où je vou-
" droye (1), pourveu que je le rendiſſe certain de
" ce qu'il m'avoit requis."

(1) Here is a fair print from the cloven foot of forgery. This letter makes the Queen to propoſe Craigmillar the very evening of her arrival, and the King to expreſs his readineſs to go to Craigmillar whenever ſhe pleaſed. But the ſecond depoſitions of Paris aſſert, that ſhe ſent Paris from Glaſgow to Edinborough in order to conſult Bothwell and Lethington, " lequell eſt meilleur pour
' loger le Roy, a Craigmillar, ou a Kirk-a-field;"
hat ſhe charged him to make haſte, becauſe ſhe
ould not ſtir till he returned with his anſwer,
' haſtez vous de revenir, car je ne bougeray d'ici,
' juſques au temps que m'aures raporte la re-
' ponſe;" and that Lethington and Bothwell re-
urned for anſwer, Kirk-a-field would be a proper
lace, " le Kirk-de-field ſeroit bon *." Theſe two
ccounts ſtand in direct oppoſition to each other.
hey therefore ſerve, like two contrary poiſons,
utually to counteract themſelves. And they are
oth counteracted by the fulleſt force of truth.
homas Nelſon, one of Darnly's attendants, was
orn in England to ſome circumſtances concern-
ig the murder of the King. His is therefore a
al depoſition. And he aſſerts what proves Paris's
d the letter to be both forgeries. " He wes
' actual ſervand to the King," he ſays, " the tyme
' of his murder, and lang of befoir, and came

* Goodall, ii. 77—78.

" with him from Glaſgow the time the Quene con-
" voyed him to Edinburgh. Item, the deponar
" *remembris* it wes dewyſed *in Glaſgow*, that the
" King *ſuld haif lyne firſt at Craigmillar*; bot BE-
" CAUS HE HAD NA WILL THAIROF, the purpois
" wes altered, and concluſioun taken that he ſuld
" ly beſyde the Kirk-of-field *."

XIII.—" He deſyris na body to ſé him (1). He
" is angrie quhen I ſpeik of Walcar (2), and
" ſayis, that he ſall pluk the eiris out of his head,
" and that he leis (3). For I inquyrit him upon
" that (4), and yat he was angrie with ſum of the
" Lordis (5), and wald threittin thame. He de-
" nyis that, and ſayis he luifis thame all (6), and
" prayis me to give traiſt to nathing againſt him
" (7)."

XIII.—" Cupiebat ne a quoquam conſpiceretur
" (1). Iraſcitur quoties ei mentionem Walcarii
" facio (2), ac ſe dicit, aures ei e capite avulſurum,
" ac mentiri eum ait (3). Nam de hâc re eum
" interrogâram (4), ac de eo quód iratus eſſet qui-
" buſdam procerum (5), atque eis minaretur. Id
" negat, et ait omnes ſibi charos eſſe (6), ac me
" rogat ne quid ſecus de ſe crederem (7)."

XIII.—" Il deſiroit de n'eſtre veu de perſonne
" (1). Il ſe faſce toutes les fois que je luy parle de
" Walcar (2), et dit, qu'il luy arrachera les oreilles

* Goodall, ii. 241 and 244.

" de

" de la teſte, et qu'il a menty (3). Car je l'avoyé " interrogé de cela (4), et de ce qu'il s'eſtoit cour- " roucé contre aucuns des ſeigneurs (5), et les " avoit menaſſez. Ce qu'il nie, et dit qu'il les " ayme tous (6), et me prie que je ne croye point " autrement de luy (7)."

(1) " Deſyris," Scotch; " cupiebat," Latin; " deſiroit," French; " na body to ſé him," Scotch; " ne a quoquam conſpiceretur," Latin; " de n'eſtre " veu de perſonne," French.

(2) This intimation makes the alluſion to the tory of Walcar and Hiegait before, more confuſed han ever. Walcar had ſaid as from Hiegait, that by report the King was to crown his ſon, and uſurp the government in his name. What Walcar hus ſaid has been already given to Hiegait, but is ow taken from him again, and reſtored to its right wner. And we ſhall ſoon ſee a ſimilar ſtroke of ontradictorineſs, in another alluſion to this very tory.

(3) That Walcar *lied*, is plainly not true. Such plan had been ſuggeſted, no doubt, by the arti- ces of the doubling Murray, to the poor head and oorer heart of this unhappy King. Mary thought o much of it, as to mention it in her letter o her embaſſadour at Paris. And we have a rong confirmation of the truth of it, which Mary ad not then; in the adoption of the very ſame heme only a few months afterwards by Murray, nd in the full execution of it by him, to the ruin Mary and her fortunes for ever.

(4) That Mary ſhould have now aſked him concerning this, is utterly incredible upon every ſuppoſition. The King was in a very weak and languiſhing condition. She had flown to him on the news. She was juſt arrived. She had only ſupped ſince her arrival. She was now ſitting at the foot of his bed. And that ſhe ſhould, in theſe circumſtances and at this time, hint a ſyllable concerning a reported deſign of his in his health, for ſeizing the crown from her; is ſo wildly incredible, as to convict the letter of forgery at once.

(5) This alludes more immediately to what the Queen notices in her letter of January 20th. "Hie-"gait ſaid further, as Walcar reportit to us, that "the King culd not content nor beir with ſum of "the noblemen that war attending in our court, bot "othir he or thay behovit to leif the ſamyn *." But then both refer to what happened on the 30th of September before. "The ſame evening," ſays the privy council of Scotland in a formal letter of October 8th, to the Queen Dowager of France, "the King came to Edinburgh, but made ſome "difficulty to enter into the palace, by reaſon that "three or four lords were at that time preſent with "the Queen, and *peremptorily inſiſted* that they "might be gone *before* he would condeſcend to "come in: which deportment appeared to be abun-"dantly unreaſonable, ſince they were three of the "greateſt lords of the kingdom," ſuppoſed to be Argyle, Murray, and Rothes †, "and that thoſe "Kings, who by their own birth were ſovereigns

* Keith, Pref. viii. † Goodall, i. 284.

"o

" of the realm, have never acted in that manner " towards the nobility. The Queen however re- " ceived this behaviour as decently as was possible, " and condescended so far as to go meet the King " without the palace, and so conducted him into " her own apartment *." But surely this was not an incident, that could have engaged a moment's attention from both, at such an interview as the present, and in the first evening of it. If the Queen had come with a real regard for him, she *could* not have led most distantly to the subject. If she had come from a pretended one, she *would* not.

(6) That Darnly should be made to assert this, in direct opposition to the speaking fact above; was the design in introducing the subject. But then it serves, with almost every other circumstance here, to prove the plain spuriousness of the letter, and the old fraudulence of the writer.

(7) "Give traist to nathing aganis him," Scotch; "ne quid *fecus* de se crederem," Latin; which, connected as it stands with " ait omnes sibi charos " esse," desires Mary not to believe but that they are all, as he says, dear to him. Though this is not the sense of the Scotch, yet, the Latin being so, the French was forced to accommodate itself to it; "autrement de luy."

' As to me, he wald rather give his lyfe or he did ' ony displesure to me (1).

* Keith, 348—349.

XIV.—" And efter this he ſchew me of ſa mony " lytil flattereis, ſa cauldly and ſa wyſely (2), that " ze will abaſce thairat (3). I had almoſt forzet " that he ſaid, he culd not dout (4) of me in yis " purpois of Hiegaite's; for he wald never belief yat " I, quha was his proper fleſche, wold do him ony " evill; alſweill it was ſchawin that I refuſit to ſub- " ſcrive the ſame (5):"

" Quod ad me attinet, ſe malle de vitâ diſcedere, " quàm quicquam committere quod me offende- " ret (1).

XIV.—" Ac poſtea tantum minutarum adula- " tionum tam moderaté ac tam prudenter effudit " (2), ut tibi res admirationi ſit futura (3). Pené " oblita eram, quód dixit, in hôc negotio Hiegait " non poſſe de me quicquam ſuſpicari (4); ſe enim " nunquam crediturum, quód ego, quæ propria " ejus caro eſſem, quicquam mali ei facerem: etiam " ſe reſciſſe, quód ego ei rei ſubſcribere recuſaſ- " ſem (5):"

" Et quant a ce qui me touche, qu'il aymeroit " mieux mourir, que de faire choſe qui me peuſt " offenſer (1).

XIV.—" Or apres il m'a uſé de tant de petites " flateries, avec tel poids et diſcretion (2), que vous " en ſeriez eſtonné (3). J'avoye, peu s'en faut, " oublié ce qu'il dit ſur le fait de Hiegait, qu'il ne " peut ſoupconner de moy (4); et qu'il ne croira " jamais que moy, qui ſuis ſa propre chair, luy " faſſe aucun deſplaiſir; et qu'il ſcavoit bien, que " j'avoye refuſé de ſouſcrire a cela (5):"

(1) Theſe

(1) Theſe wild and abſurd attempts to colour over the wretched character of Darnly, I have already noticed with the proper ſeverity. But, leſt perſeverance ſhould attract credit, let me only ſubjoin Le Croc's account of his conduct ſo late as the 23d of December before. His bad "deportment," ſays this honeſt embaſſadour, who was alſo a kind of confidante to him, "is *incurable*; "nor *can there be ever any good expected from him*, "for ſeveral reaſons *."

(2) "Cauldly," Scotch, which then meant *coolly and calmly*, as Mary's commiſſioners ſay to Elizabeth, "we replyed *cauldely* and myldlye without "ony railing †;" and tranſlated accordingly in Latin, "moderatè;" has, by a miſunderſtanding of the Latin, been rendered in French "avec poids," *with weight*; as if the French author took his idea of the Latin word from that paſſage in Salluſt, 'nihil penſi neque moderati habere."—"Schew 'me *of* ſa mony lytil flattereis." This, ſays the Miſcellaneous Remarker, is a French expreſſion, becauſe it is ſimilar in its ſtructure to the French here, "m'a uſé de tant *de* petites flateries ‡." He might as well have ſaid that it was a Latin one, becauſe it is equally ſimilar to the Latin here, 'tantum minutarum adulationum effudit." And indeed we know the French to be merely derived from the Latin.

(3) I have already ſhewn the abſurdity of Mary's relating all the exculpatory topicks of Darnly, with-

* Keith, Pref. viii. † Goodall, ii. 218—219. ‡ P. 20—21.

out any ſpecified reply to them. But I now wiſh to urge *another* point concerning it, as a proof of forgery. Why ſhould Mary relate all theſe to her *adulterer?* Why ſhould ſhe thus labour to ſoften and extenuate the King's conduct in a letter to *Bothwell?* Is this nature, or is this art? Nature it certainly is not. No adultereſs was ever ſo far abandoned, as to wiſh or allow herſelf to exculpate her huſband. She would much rather ſeek for all occaſions to cenſure *him*, in order to excuſe *herſelf*. She would be ſo far from repeating all his long defences of himſelf, without recording her anſwers to them; that ſhe would hardly permit herſelf to repeat them at all, that ſhe would certainly repeat her anſwer to each defence, and that ſhe would give her anſwer every advantage of force. She would do this to *any* correſpondent. But ſhe would peculiarly do it to *Bothwell*. And, even to *him*, ſhe had one ſpecial reaſon for doing it. She is deſcribed even in theſe very letters, as jealous of Bothwell's wife. She is made to mention her jealouſy over and over again. Then why, in the name of common ſenſe, ſhould ſhe rehearſe to Bothwell the King's long vindications of himſelf, which muſt have ſuch a tendency to plant a jealouſy of Darnly in him? She did not do it, in order to counteract one jealouſy by another. Had ſhe, her behaviour muſt have been more kind to Darnly, and more diſtant to Bothwell. But ſhe avows, even in this very letter, her fulleſt regard for Bothwell, and her higheſt contempt for Darnly. And ſhe therefore employs herſelf ſo laboriouſly, in reciting all that

Darnly

Darnly ſpoke in his own juſtification, not becauſe it was natural for her to do ſo; but becauſe it was neceſſary to the policy of forgery that ſhe ſhould, becauſe nature was to be ſacrificed to art, and becauſe the forgers truſted the ſacrifice would be, as it has now been for two hundred years, totally unobſerved by the world.

(4) "Dout," Scotch; "ſuſpicari," Latin; "ſoupconner," French.

(5) This is the contradiction, to which I referred a few notes before. The point alluded to is called the purpoſe of *Hiegait*; and yet it is evidently the information of *Mynto*. The latter had ſaid, that ſome of the council were reported to have brought an order for the Queen's ſignature, which was to ſend Darnly to priſon, &c. And it is now added, that Mary had refuſed to ſign the order. What Hiegait had alledged was merely this, that it was reported Darnly was to be ſent to priſon. This is much ſhort of the other. This ſays nothing of an order actually preſented to Mary for ſending him. This has no connection, therefore, with Mary's refuſal to ſign the order. Yet the two informations are confounded. And Mynto's is given to Hiegait.

But let us now, at this preſent reference to the inquiſition before the council, examine all the parts of it again; leſt, while we are active in expoſing the forgery, we ſhould preſs ſome points into the cauſe, that have no concern in it. The real fact is, as we have ſhewn before, that Walcar acquainted the Queen with a reported deſign in Darnly to de-

throne

throne her, to crown her son, and to reign in his name; and that Hiegait informed the council of an equally reported design in Mary, to send Darnly to prison. By these two informations we are to try the notices in the letter. To which of these, then, does it refer, when it says, that Mary asked Darnly concerning "the inquisitioun of Hiegait," and that "he denyit the same" till she shewed "the "verray wordis was spokin?" By the name of Hiegait, it should refer to the real information given by Hiegait, that it was reported Darnly was to be sent to prison. Yet this it cannot mean, because Darnly *denies* the allegation, till she shewed him the very words of it. Had it meant the real information of Hiegait, Mary would *not* have enquired about it, and Darnly would *not* have denied it. She is even made to say afterwards, that she thinks he believed, even on her present visit to him, she would send him to prison. It means therefore the information of Walcar, that the King designed to seize the reins of government, under the appearance of acting as regent to his son. And yet the letter speaks afterwards of "the rest of Willie "Hiegait's," which Darnly "confessed" the day afterward. What did he "confess" then? The same that he denied before, concerning the plan of dethroning the Queen? Or the fact, of Hiegait's communication to Mynto, of Mynto's to Lenox, of Lenox's to the King, and of the King's to Hiegait? Yet the *latter* he has equally denied with the *former*. *Mynto*, he says, was the person who informed him of the design. And with *Mynto* it was that he talked about it. So thoroughly confounded

was

was the letter-writer, by his half-recollection of this inquisition, of which we have so full an account in Mary's letter! He little thought of such a letter being preserved, to expose his ignorance, and to detect his imposture.—But let us go on.

The letter-writer makes Mynto inform the King of a report, that some of the council had brought an order to Mary, for confining the King, and for putting him to death if he resisted the execution of the order. The King is described as asking Mynto his opinion, concerning the truth of the report. And Mynto is represented as declaring his belief in the truth of it. But, says the *acted Queen*, "the "morne I will speik to him upon this point." Yet before "the morne" comes, Mary speaks to her readers upon the point; and only, by a blunder rather extraordinary in so short a compass, miscalls it Hiegait's for Mynto's. For she knows immediately, and without speaking any farther to the *King* about it, that he knew she had *refused* to sign the order. And though the next day (as I shall soon shew) she writes the remaining half of this long letter, yet she never speaks to the point any more.—But I proceed to another circumstance.

Walcar's information, and Mynto's intelligence, are both attributed in different places to Hiegait. Yet Mynto in one place, and Walcar in another, have each their several allotments. And then "the "rest of Hiegait's" is noticed, either as different *or* the same; if as the same, then being most impertinently noticed; if as different, then being nothing at all.

So

So confusedly, and so contradictorily, are these allusions to the *subject* of Mary's letter managed by the forgers! Confusedness upon such a recent point, and from such a pretended writer, is sufficient of itself to betray the hand of imposture in the whole. But contradictoriness does it still more strongly. And, which is what I wish to remark at the close, these intimations concerning an order produced by some of the council to Mary, for seizing the person of the King, and for slaying him if he made resistance; and concerning the King's belief, even at the very instant of her really or pretendedly kind visit to him, that she meant even then to commit him to ward, so directly contrary to his own avowal, that he knew the Queen had already refused to sign an order for his committal; are wholly false in themselves. The Queen's letter of January 20th is a full proof that they are. She who wrote an account of Walcar's information and of Hiegait's intelligence to her embassadour, must certainly have written an account of such an order and such a refusal, had they been true. And this concurs with all to shew, not merely the artificial, but the awkward and the blundering, fabrication of these celebrated letters.

" but as to ony utheris (1) that wald persew him,
" at leist he suld sell his lyfe deir aneuch (2); bot
" he suspectit na body, nor zit wald not; but wald
" lufe all yat I lufit (3).

XV.—

XV.—" He wald not let me depart from him, " bot deſyrit yat I ſuld walk with him (4). I mak " (5) it ſeme that I believe that all is trew, and " takis heid thairto, and excuſit myſelf for this " nicht that I culd not walk (6). He ſayis, that " he ſleipis not weil (7)."

" quód ſi quis (1) ſuam vitam peteret, facturum " ut ſatis magno ei conſtaret (2): ſed ſibi neminem " nec ſuſpectum eſſe, nec futurum; ſed ſe omnes " dilecturum quos ego diligerem (3).

XV.—" Nolebat permittere ut a ſe diſcederem, " ſed cupiebat ut unâ ſecum vigilarem (4). Ego " ſimulabam (5) omnia videri vera, ac mihi curæ " eſſe, atque excuſavi quód illâ nocte vigilare non " poſſem (6). Ait ſe non bene dormire (7)."

" que ſi quelqu'un (1) cherchoit a luy oſter la vie, " qu'il feroit en ſorte qu'elle luy ſeroit cherement " venduë (2); mais que nul ne luy eſtoit, ou ſeroit, " ſuſpect; ains qu'il aymeroit tous ceux que j'ay- " moye (3).

XV.—" Il ne vouloit point permettre que je " m'en allaſſe, mais deſiroit que je veillaſſe (4) " avec luy; et je faingnoye (5) que tout cela me " ſembloit vray, et que je m'en ſoucioye beaucoup, " et en m'excuſant que je ne pouvoye veiller pour " ceſte nuict-la (7), il dit, qu'il ne pouvoit bien " dormir (7)."

(1) " Ony utheris," Scotch; " quis," Latin; " quelqu'un," French.

(2) It

(2) It is very observable, in what contradictions this negligent letter-writer involves himself. The King now *threatens* to sell his life dear enough, at least, to such of the lords as were seeking it. Yet, a very little before, he denies that he threatens them, and avers that he loves them all. So contradictory, in the compass of a few minutes, is the Darnly of the forgers! The denial is put into his mouth, to raise his character for good-nature. The threat is put in, to enhance his reputation for bravery. And both are to be exalted, at the expence of consistence.—" At least," Scotch, is omitted by the Latin and the French.

(3) As a *proof* of this, that comes nearest to the date of the present letter; let me produce once more the Queen's own letter of January 20th. Her authority is *at least* as good as his. But in reality it is much better. She puts her name to what she says. And even Lethington did not dare to put it to what Darnly says. " For the King our husband, " God knawis alwayis our part towartis him; and " his behaviour and thankfulness to us is semblable- " ment well knawin to God and the warld; specia- " lie our awin indifferent subjectis seis it, and in " thair hartis, we doubt not, condemnis the samyn. " Alwayis we persave him occupeit and bissy aneuch " to haif inquisitioun of our doyngis, quhilkis, God " willing, sall ay be sic as nane sall haif occasioun " to be offendit with thame, or to report of us any " wayis bot honorably; howsoever he, his father, " and thair fautoris, speik, quhilkis we knaw want " na gude will to mak us haif ado, gif thair power

" were equivalent to thair myndis. But God mo-
" deratis thair forces well aneuch, and takis the
" moyen of executioun of thair pretenſis fra thame;
" for, as we believe, they ſall find nane, or verray
" few, approveris of thair counſalis and devyſis
" imaginit to our diſpleſor or miſlyking *." Let me alſo repeat what I have ſaid before in other words, that this letter, however Dr. Robertſon has miſrepreſented it, gives us the picture of a ſoul, feeling but firm, touched but not provoked, looking down from its dignity with concern upon the injuries that it had received, and looking up from its innocence to GOD againſt the injuries that it knew to be meditated. And this picture being drawn undeſignedly by the hand of Mary herſelf, and at a very critical minute of her life; it thence becomes the more valuable.

(4) " Walk," Scotch, meaning to *wake*. " It
" chance oft to the infirmities of man," Ninian Wingate ſays in 1562, " that he ſall on ſlepe
" quhen he ſuld eraſt [chiefly] *walk*;—ze *walkin*
" nocht furthe of zour dreme;—*awalke*, *awalke* †."

(5) " I mak," Scotch; " ſimulabam," Latin; and " je faingnoye," French.

(6) This is the night of her arrival, January 23; in which ſhe very naturally excuſed herſelf from ſitting up late with him, becauſe ſhe was tired with her journey.

* Keith, Pref. viii. † Ibid. App. 206.

(7) The

(7) The turn of the French muſt have ariſen, I ſuppoſe, from ſome miſtake in or concerning the corrected Latin.

" Ze (1) ſaw him never better, nor ſpeik mair " humbler. And gif I had not ane pruſe of his " hart of waxe, and yat myne wer [not] of ane " dyamont (2), quhairintill na ſchot can mak brek, " bot that quhilk cummis furth of zour hand, I wald " have almaiſt had pietie of him. Bot feir not, the " place ſall hald unto the deith. Remember, in " recompence thairof (3), that ze ſuffer not zouris " to be wyn be that fals race that will travell no " les with zow for the ſame (4).

XVI.—" I beleve thay have bene at ſchoullis " togidder. He hes ever the teir in his eye; he " ſalutis every body, zea, unto the leiſt, and makis " pieteous careſſing unto thame, to mak theme " have pietie on him (5). This day his father " bled"

" Nunquam vidi (1) eum meliùs habere, aut loqui " humiliùs. Ac niſi experimento didiciſſem, quám " eſſet ejus cor cereum, meum adamantinum (2), " et quale nullum telum penetrare poſſet, niſi quod " e tuâ manu veniat, propé erat ut ejus miſerta " fuiſſem: ſed ne time, præſidium ad mortem " uſque cuſtodietur. Tu vide (3), ne tuum capi

" ſinas

‘ſinas a gente illâ perfidâ, quæ non minore con
‘tentione tecum de hôc ipſo aget (4).

XVI.—“ Arbitror in eadem ſcholâ doctos fu-
iſſe. Iſte ſemper in oculis habet lachrymam;
ſalutat omnes, etiam uſque ad infimos, et miſeris
modis eos ambit, ut ad ſui miſericordiam eos per-
ducat (5). Hodie patri ejus ſanguis e naribus”

Je (1) ne l'ay jamais veu mieux porter, ne parler
ſi doucement; et ſi je n'euſſe appris par l'expe-
rience, combien il avoit le cœur mol comme cir,
‘et le mien eſtre dur comme diamant (2), et lequel
‘nul trait ne pouvoit percer, ſinon deſchoché de
‘voſtre main, peu s'en euſt fallu que je n'euſſe eu
‘pitié de luy: toutesfois ne craignez point, ceſte
‘fortereſſe ſera conſervée juſques a la mort; mais
‘vous regardez (3) que ne laiſſiez ſurprendre la
‘voſtre, par ceſte nation infidele, qui avec non
“noindre opiniatreté debatra le meſme avec vous
“(4).

XVI.—“ J'eſtime qu'ils ont eſté enſeignez en
“neſme eſcole. Ceſtui-cy a tousjours la larme a
“'œil; il ſalüe toute le monde, voire juſques au
“lus petits, et les flate d'une facon pitoyable,
“fin qu'il les ameine juſques d'avoir compaſſion
“e luy (5).”

1) “ Ze ſaw,” Scotch; “ vidi,” Latin; “ je
‘eu,” French.

2) “ Not,” Scotch, omitted in Latin and
Fnch, and, as the ſenſe ſhews, inſerted in the
Scch by ſome miſtake of the preſs.

(3) "In recompence thairof," Scotch, omitted in the Latin and French.

(4) Meaning Bothwell's wife.

(5) This affords us a very extraordinary evidence of the forgery, in a plain and palpable contradiction. An author, who writes from a set of imaginary ideas, and has therefore no real archetypes in nature to direct him, is almost sure to fall into contradictions. The present is a very great one. Darnly at this very time kept his bed. He had done so for some time past. He was particularly in bed during all this conversation. "I cum," says Mary herself soon afterwards, "na neirer unto "him, bot in ane chyre at the bed-feit, and he be-"ing at the other end thairof." And, as she says only a little before, "he defyris na body to sé him." Yet here we are told, that "he salutis every body, "zea, unto the leist, and makis pieteous caressing "unto thame, to mak thame have pietie on him." He, who sees nobody, is saluting every body; "tout le monde," says the Frenchman. He salutes even the very lowest of the people. He makes piteous caressings to all orders of life at Glasgow—*from the upper end of his bed.* And he, who desires to see no one, who has seen none since the Queen came, even now has had a grand COUCHE'E, and has been practising all the humilities of politeness to the crowds about him.

" at the mouth and noſe; ges quhat preſage that " is (1). I have not zit ſene him, he keipis his " chalmer (2). The King deſyris that I ſald give " him meit with my awin handis (3); bot gif na " mair traiſt quhair ze ar (4), than I ſall do heir " (5).

XVII.—" This is my firſt jornay (6): I ſall end " the ſame ye morne (7)."

" et ore fluxit; tu conjice quale id ſit præſagium " (1). Nondum eum vidi, continet enim ſe in " cubiculo (2). Rex poſcit ut meis manibus ſibi " tradam cibum (3); ſed tu nihilo magis iſthic " ſis crediturus (4), quàm ego hîc ero (5).

XVII.—" Hæc eſt mea primi diei expeditio (6), " eandem cras finiam (7)."

" Aujourdhuy le ſang eſt ſorty du nez et de la " bouche a ſon pere; vous donc devinez mainte- " nant quel eſt ce preſage (1). Je ne l'ay point " encor veu, car il ſe tient en ſa chambre (2). Le " Roy me requiert que je luy donne a manger de " mes mains (3); or vous n'en croyez pas par dela " rien d'avantage (4), pendant que je ſuis icy (5).

XVII.—" Voyla j'ay deſpeché pour mon pre- " mier jour (6), eſperant achever demain le reſte " (7)."

(1) This is the first hint about the murder. And a most dark one it is. Yet it is singled out in a short abstract of the letter, by the busy apprehensiveness of the commissioners of England, as a very particular one *.

(2) This is a false fact, and so proves the forgery. All the intimations here concerning Lenox, imply him to have been ill, and to have *therefore* kept his chamber. Yet the *present* Mary has already informed us, that this very day Lenox sent a gentleman to her four miles before she reached Glasgow, to pay his respects of duty to her, and to excuse his non attendance upon her in person, *not* because he was sick, but "be ressoun he *durst* "*not interpryse the same*, because of the rude wordis "that I had spokin to Cuninghame." He was therefore not sick that afternoon. Yet *the very evening* of that afternoon he is here represented as sick. And, what pins down the point decisively, the very gentleman, who came from Lenox to the Queen, afterwards deposed in England, that "the "said Erle *durst* not then, *for displeasure of the* "*Quene*, come abroad†." So thoroughly does this agree with the former part of the letter! And so compleatly are both in opposition to the present!

But let me make another observation upon this part of the letter. I have already shewn the forger of the letter to have confounded his understanding by the indistinctness of his memory, to have taken incidents that happened in the April of 1566, and

* Appendix, N° vi. † Goodall, ii. 246.

to

to have fixed them in or about January 1567. And the preſent paſſage in the letter corroborates what I have ſaid. In April 1566 this very contradiction was realized. Then Lenox actually excuſed himſelf from attendance at Edinborough, firſt becauſe he was ſick, and then becauſe "he durſt "not enterprize the ſame *."

(3) This was a very pretty office for the Queen. It ſhews the regard of Darnly for her extremely. Her Majeſty was to become nurſe to his father. Yet "he wald rather give his lyfe or he did ony "diſpleſure to her." And he had been ſeverely "puniſhit for making his God of her, and for "having na uther thocht bot on her." So much at odds are the parts of this letter! Yet the Queen's refuſal to do this menial office to one of her Earls, of attending him in his chamber of ſickneſs, and "giving him meit with her awin handis," was moſt injudiciouſly intended to injure her character with the reader. "Theſe cocknies," ſaid Condé, "make "me to think and ſpeak, juſt as they would think "and ſpeak in the ſame ſituations." And, in the ſottiſhneſs of forgery, a Lethington became a mere cockney!

(4) Meaning ſtill Bothwell's wife.

(5) The French has made a great blunder here, miſtaking the ſenſe of the Latin, "quám ego hîc "ero," conſidering it to mean *as long as I ſhall be here*, and therefore rendering the clauſe "pendant "que je ſuis icy."

* Anderſon, i. 52—53, and ii. 106—107.

(6) This passage is a memorable one. It was one of those, which first detected the vain pretensions of the French to originality*. And it is very astonishing, how Buchanan could miss the meaning of so easy a word, familiar as it still is in all the distant extremities of the island, and hedged and fenced in as it is by the context. It shews him to have been very careless in making the version.

(7) The passage before shews this part of the letter to have been written Jan. 24th, the day after the Queen's arrival. And the present passage intimates, that the letter was to be finished on Jan. 25th.

" I wryte all things, howbeit thay be of lytill wecht,
" to the end that ze may tak the best of all to
" judge upon (1). I am in doing of ane work
" heir (2) that I hait (3) greitly (4). Have ze
" not desyre to lauch (5) to sé me lie sa weill, at
" ye leist to dissembill sa weill, and to tell him (6)
" treuth betwix handis (7)?"

" Omnia scribo, etsi non sunt magni ponderis, ut tu
" optima seligendo judicium facias (1). Ego in
" negotio (2) mihi maximé (4) ingrato (3) versor.
" Nunquid subit cupiditas ridendi (5), videndo me
" tam bene mentiri, saltem dissimulare tam bene,
" ac (6) interim vera dicere (7)?"

* Goodall, i. 93.

" Jo

" Je vous eſcry toutes choſes, encor qu'elles ſoient " de peu d'importance, afin qu'en eſliſant les meil- " leures, vous en faſſies jugement (1). Je ſuis " occupée en une affaire (2) qui m'eſt infiniement " (4) deſagreable (3). Ne vous prent-il pas envie de " rire (5), de me voir ainſi bien mentir, au moins " de ſi bien diſſimuler (6), en diſant verité (7) ?"

(1) This is the apology made by the writer, for inſerting ſo long an account of what the King ſaid to the Queen. Bothwell was to ſelect what he thought the principal ſtrokes in the King's ſpeech, and to judge from them with regard to his future proceedings. But, not to dwell on the abſurdity of her not ſelecting them herſelf, what were the ſtrokes, principal or ſubordinate, that could lead him to form any judgment concerning the murder? For the future proceedings muſt relate to the murder only. Could the diſcourſe concerning the *letter* lead him? Could the hint of her *penſiveneſs?* Could the King's declaring, that he would leave her all he had, that ſhe was cruel to him, that ſhe refuſed to accept his repentance, and that his regret for this had given him his diſorder? None of theſe circumſtances, ſurely, could either have retarded or haſtened the murder? Let us go on then, and ſee if we can find any other that could. Could the King's confeſſion afterwards, his petition for pardon, his promiſe of amendment, and his avowal of his former idolatry for Mary? Or could his anſwer concerning the Engliſh ſhip, concerning Hiegait, Mynto, and Walcar, concerning his deſire

to sleep with the Queen, her refusal to let him, and his readiness to attend her to Craigmillar? Could his desire to see no one, his declaration of love for all the lords, his expressions of peculiar regard for Mary, his flatteries to her, her so fully expressed attachment to Bothwell in spite of all, and his general courtesy and humility to all the world? Certainly they could not. They could not separately. They could not collectively. They could not even serve as lights, to regulate the proceedings of Bothwell in *preparing* for the murder. The murder indeed was already determined. "Ibi," at Holyrood-house, "cum rescitum esset," says Buchanan, "Regem convalescere, ac vim veneni æta-"tis vigore et corporis firmitate naturali superatam, "novum de eo tollendo consilium initur—; con-"sulunt omnes festinandum, antequam plané con-"valesceret *." And accordingly the commissioners at York, from the suggestions of Murray and his *fellows*, and as a proof of the Queen's "procure-"ment and consent to the murder of her said hus-"band," say she appears in this letter to have "toke her journey from Edenburghe to Glasco, "to visit him being theare sick, and purposely of "intent to bringe him with her to Edenburghe †." It was therefore determined, according to the rebels themselves, and according to their own comments upon this very letter, to murder the King at Edinborough. What influence then could any of the many particulars in the King's conversation have, towards regulating the mode of the murder?

* Hist. xviii. 350. † Appendix, N° vi.

None

None at all, certainly. And the apology for this long rehearſal is as abſurd, as the rehearſal itſelf is unnatural.

(2) " Heir," Scotch, omitted in the Latin and French.

(3) Here the author has thrown a ſlight touch of remorſe into the character of Mary. This is more judicious, than any other part which I have yet obſerved of his management. And Milton, even in deſcribing the great author of wickedneſs in the univerſe, ſays ;

Cruel his eye, but caſt
Signs of remorſe and paſſion, to behold

the nature of his crime in its conſequences.

(4) Behold the gradation, in which the two tranſlations ſucceſſively " out-ſtep the modeſty" of the original. " Greitly," Scotch, is " maximé," Latin, and " infiniement," French. It ſhews the tendency, which all mankind have to exaggerate.

(5) This is very unnatural. Mary was the moment before under lively compunctions of remorſe. She is now laughing at her own cleverneſs of deceit. The tranſition is much too quick and ſudden for nature. She could not have paſſed from the one to the other at a ſtep. There muſt have been ſome intermediate ſteps between them. And the want of theſe ſhews the workmanſhip of a man, writing concerning a remorſe which he never felt, and therefore capable of paſſing from remorſe to triumph in an inſtant.

(6) " Him,"

(6) "Him," Scotch, omitted in Latin and French.

(7) That Mary was a profeſſed diſſembler, is what the rebels have repeatedly endeavoured to ſuggeſt. But nothing could be more oppoſite to her real character. A frank and open heart, like her's, can never practiſe diſſimulation habitually. It is indeed the very game and quarry, at which diſſimulation is ever ſhooting. And Mary was, throughout her whole life, a dupe to her own honeſty, and a ſufferer from the diſſimulation of others. Accordingly Darnly himſelf, in one of his moſt excentric ſallies of extravagance, in his conſpiracy with Morton &c. for murdering Rizzio and uſurping the crown, when "they ſaid they "feared all was but craft and policy," on ſome propoſals from the Queen after the murder, "the "King would not credit the ſame, and ſaid, That "SHE WAS A TRUE PRINCESS, and HE WOULD SET "HIS LIFE FOR WHAT SHE PROMISED *."

"Betwix handis," Scotch; "interim," Latin; omitted in French. "It is not eaſy," ſays Mr. Goodall †, "to expreſs in Latin the meaning of "the words *betwixt hands*. Buchanan's word *in-*"*terim* not only falls ſhort, but makes his Latin "ſentence ſtand, as it were, at variance with itſelf: "which the Frenchman obſerving, he omitted it "altogether." Buchanan ſhould have tranſlated

* Ruthven's own account of the murder, Keith, App. 128.
† i. 85.

the

the words by *ſubinde*. This would have met the meaning compleatly. But it is of more conſequence to remark, that the occurrence of ſuch an idiom as this in the Scotch, which is indubitably Scotch in itſelf, and has even nothing parallel to it either in Latin or in French, is a ſtrong proof for the originality of the Scotch. Proverbial modes of expreſſion like this, are ſome of the ſureſt ſigns of an original. They enter not into tranſlations. They are only the effuſions of a mind, not converſing with foreign idioms at the moment, but expatiating in its native language, and throwing out its ideas in the freedom of popular and colloquial diction. And we have another idiom of the ſame nature hereafter *, which even Buchanan, though a Scotchman, underſtood ſtill leſs than this; both of them being merely forms of ſpeech, appropriated to the familiarities of common life.

" He ſchawit me almaiſt all (1) yat is in the name " of the Biſchop and Sudderland (2), and zit I " have never twichit ane word (3) of that ze " ſchawit me; but allanerly be force, flattering, " and to pray him (4) to aſſure himſelf of me (5). " And be pleinzeing on the Biſhop, I have drawin " it all out of him: ze have hard the reſt (6).

XVIII.—" We ar couplit with twa fals races; " the devil ſinder us, and God knit us togidder for

* Sect. xxii.

" ever,

" ever, for the maiſt faithfull coupill that ever he
" unitit. This is my faith, I will die in it."

" Omnia (1) mihi aperuit ſub nominibus Epiſcopi
" et Sutherlandi (2), nec tamen adhuc collocuta
" ſum, aut verbo attigi (3), quicquam eorum quæ tu
" mihi declarâſti; ſed tantúm vi adulationum et
" precum (4) ago, ut a me ſit ſecurus (5): et con-
" querendo de Epiſcopo, omnia de eo expiſcata
" ſum: cætera audiſti (6).

XVIII.—" Nos ſumus conjuncti cum duobus
" infidis hominum generibus: diabolus nos ſejun-
" gat, ac nos conjungat Deus in perpetuum, ut
" ſimus fidiſſimum par quod unquam junctum eſt.
" Hæc mea fides eſt, in eâ volo mori."

" Il m'a tout (1) deſcouvert ſoubs le nom de
" l'Eveſque et de Sutherland (2); et toutesfois je
" ne luy ay encor parlé, ny dit un ſeul mot (3), de
" ce que vous m'avez declaré; ains ſeulement je le
" pourſuy par force de flateries et prieres (4), afin
" qu'il s'aſſeure de moy (5). Et me plaignant de
" l'Eveſque, j'ay ſceu toutes choſes de luy, et en-
" tendu le reſte (6).

XVIII.—" Nous ſommes conjoints avec deux
" eſpeces d'hommes infideles; le diable nous
" vueille ſeparer, et que Dieu nous conjoingne a ja-
" mais, a ce que ſoyons deux perſonnes tres-fidele.
" ſi jamais autres ont eſté conjointes enſemble
" Voila ma foy, et veux mourir en icelle."

(1) " Almaiſ

(1) "Almaiſt all," Scotch; "omnia," Latin; "tout," French.

(2) This alludes, I ſuppoſe, to ſome quarrel between Robert Stewart, biſhop of Caithneſs, and uncle to the King, and the Earl of Sutherland, who married his ſiſter *. But we know nothing of the quarrel. Had any record conveyed us an account of it, I doubt not but we ſhould have found ſome falſe hint concerning it here, to have expoſed the forgery.

(3) "Never twichit ane word," Scotch; "nec "adhuc collocuta ſum, aut verbo attigi," Latin; "ne ay encor parlé, ny dit un ſeul mot," French. The wordineſs and languor of the Latin and French is generally very obſervable, in compariſon with the Scotch.

(4) "Allanerly be force, flattering, and to pray "him," Scotch, words that mean merely this, *only of neceſſity, to flatter him, and to pray him*, have been ſtrangely miſunderſtood by the Latin, and have therefore been thus rendered by it, and its ſhadow, the French, "vi adulationum et precum," and "par force de flateries et prieres." And the Miſcellaneous Remarker very gravely informs us thus: "*Beforce, flattering*, this is very remarkable; the "French were wont to uſe the word *force* as an adjective; hence, *par force flaterie* means by *much* "flattering †." Even in this very inſtance, the word *force* is uſed, not as an adjective, but as a ſubſtantive.

* Keith, 205. † P. 21.

ſtantive. So unfortunate is the author in his remarks! The French formerly ſaid "par force *de* "flaterie." This the French tranſlation of the preſent paſſage ſhews. They now ſay, "par force "flaterie," without the *de*. But the word *force* is equally a ſubſtantive in both, whatever the French dictionaries and the Miſcellaneous Remarker may unite to ſay to the contrary. And, even if it was not, how can the words "before, flattering," run into "par force flaterie?" *Authors, before they write, ſhould*—think.

(5) How ſoon is the ſcene ſhifted here! This is not nature, but a play. This very evening "he "was ſa glaid to ſé her that he belevit to die for "glaidneſs." This very evening alſo, he has declared he has been "making his God of her, and "having na uther thocht bot of her." Yet he ſoon ſeems to believe, that "ſhe wald have ſend "him away preſonner." But he inſtantly recovers himſelf, and "wald rather give his lyfe or he did "ony diſpleſure to her." And yet, after all, ſhe is obliged to flatter him, and to pray him to be aſſured of her. "One of nature's journeymen" might give this repreſentation. Nature herſelf could not.

(6) "Ze have hard," Scotch; "audiſti," Latin; "et entendu," French, blunderingly.

XIX.—

XIX.—" Excuſe I wryte evill, ze may ges ye " half of it (1) : bot I cannot mend it, becaus I " am not weil at eis (2); and zit verray glaid to " wryte unto zow quhen the reſt are ſleipand (3), " ſen I cannot ſleip as they do, and as I wald " deſyre, that is, in zour armes, my deir luſe, " quhom I pray God to preſerve from all evill, " and ſend zow repois (4) : I am gangand to ſeik " myne till the morne, quhen I ſall end my Bybill " (5) ;"

XIX.—" Excuſa quôd malé pingam, dimidium " te oportet divinare (1); ſed ego ei rei mederi " non poſſum, non enim optimé valeo (2); et tamen " magnâ fruor lætitiâ ſcribendo ad te cúm alii " dormiant (3) ; quando ego dormire non poſſum, " ut illi faciunt, nec ut ego vellem, hoc eſt, in tuo " amplexu, mi care amice, a quo precor Deum ut " omnia mala avertat, et quietem mittat (4). Ego " eo ut meam quietem inveniam in craſtinum, ut " tum mea Biblia (5) finiam;"

XIX.—" Excuſez moy que j'eſcry mal, il faudra " que vous en deviniez la moytié (1) : mais je ne " puis remedier a cela, car je ne ſuis pas a mon " aiſe (2); et neantmoins j'ay une grand joye " en vous eſcrivant pendant que les autres dor- " ment (3), puis que de ma part je ne puis dormir " comme eux, ny ainſi que je voudroye, c'eſt a dire, " entre le bras de mon tres cher amy, du quel, je " prie Dieu, qu'il vueille deſtourner tout mal, et " luy donner bon ſucces (4): je m'en vay pour

" trouver mon repos juſques au lendemain, afin " que je finiſſe ici ma Bible (5);"

(1) This is artfully thrown in, to account for the badneſs of the writing, ſo different from Mary's uſual penmanſhip. "Her hand-writing," ſays Mr. Goodall, " was formed after what is commonly " called *italic print*, which it much reſembled both " in beauty and regularity, and not to be eaſily imi- " tated but by a fine writer *." It had not been well imitated, as is plain from this inſinuation. And, that it had not, is confirmed by the ſteady refuſal of Elizabeth and her coadjutors in villainy, to let the originals be ſeen by Mary, or by Mary's commiſ- ſioners.

(2) Why was ſhe not well at eaſe? From the adultery? But this had been long carried on, according to the rebels. From the projected murder? But this alſo, according to the rebels, had been projected before. This very diſorder of the King's, ſays Buchanan, proceeded from poiſon communicated to him by the Queen. Why then was ſhe ill at eaſe?

(3) This ſhews the preſent part of the letter to be pretendedly written in the night, and late in the night, of January 24th.

(4) This wild mixture of religion with adultery and murder, carries a very ſtrange and unnatural appearance with it. The human mind has been ſometimes ſo overborne by the fanaticiſm of religion or of liberty, as to reconcile itſelf to great

* i. 79.

enormities,

enormities, and to ſuppoſe aſſaſſination, regicide, and maſſacre, acceptable ſacrifices at the ſhrine of God. But adultery is one of thoſe crimes, which, in Chriſtendom at leaſt, have never been ſuppoſed to be even tolerated by religion. And yet Mary is moſt extravagantly repreſented, as plunged in adultery, even full of a projected murder, and ſtill praying to God "to preſerve" her partner in murder and adultery "from all evill, and ſend him "repois."—The Frenchman, miſtaking the meaning of the Latin "quietem," tranſlates it "bon "ſucces."

(5) This ſtrange miſtake, which began firſt from a falſe print or falſe writing in the Scotch, and has been copied without reflection by the Latin and French, was one, and the moſt famous one, of Mr. Goodall's deciſive arguments againſt the originality of the French *. And it is hardly worth obſerving, that the Miſcellaneous Remarker ſuppoſes the original word to have been *French*, in direct oppoſition to his own confeſſion the very page before; which ſays, "Mr. Goodall has proved, beyond 'poſſibility of cavil, that the firſt letter, as we 'now have it, was tranſlated into French from the 'Latin copy †." Yet he ſuppoſes the word to have been *mon babil*, in colloquial Engliſh, *my chat*; an expreſſion, that would be as abſurd in itſelf, as impertinent to the purpoſe. It is her huſband's chat, not her's. *Babil* alſo then ſignified, as it ſtill does, ſomething worſe than *chat*, imprudent or exceſſive

* i. 85—88. † P. 34—35.

talk; Mary herſelf ſaying in 5th letter, "il en a "babillé," for *he has blabbed the ſecret*. And, as we now know the word for certain to have been originally a SCOTCH one, ſo we know the letter to be expreſsly denominated a BYLLE by the very manufacturers of it *.

"bot I am faſchit that it ſtoppis me to write newis "of myſelf unto zow, becauſe it is ſa lang (1). "Advertiſe me quhat ze have deliberat to do in the "mater ze knaw upon this point (2), to ye end "that we may underſtandis utheris weill, that na-"thing thairthrow be ſpilt (3).

XX.—"I am irkit (4), and ganging to ſleip "(5); and zit I ceis not to ſcrible all this paper in "ſa mekle as reſtis thairof (6). Waryit mot this "pokiſche man be (7), that cauſes me haif ſa "mekle pane, for without him I ſuld have an far "pleſander (8) ſubject to diſcourſe upon."

"ſed angor quód ea me a ſcribendo de me ipſâ ad "te impediat, quia tam diu eſt (1). Fac me cer-"tiorem, quid de re quam noſti decreveris (2), ut "alter alterum intelligamus, ne quid ob id ſecus "fiat (3).

XX.—"Ego nudata (4) ſum, ac dormitum eo "(5); nec tamen me continere poſſum, quó minús

* So in Buchanani Epiſtolæ, p. 10. Ruddiman, "ſa lang "ane lettre" is called immediately afterwards "this bill."

"(6) quod

" (6) quod reſtat chartæ deformiter conſcriberem.
" Malé ſit iſti variolato (7), qui me tot laboribus
" exercet; nam abſque eo eſſet ut materiam multo
" elegantiorem (8) ad differendum haberem."

" mais je ſuis fachée que ce repos m'empeſche de
" vous eſcrire de mon fait, par ce qu'il dure tant (1).
" Faites moy ſçavoir ce que vous avez deliberé de
" faire touchant ce que ſcavez (2), afin que nous
" nous entendions l'un l'autre, et que rien ne ſe
" faſſe autrement (3).

XX.—" Je ſuis tout nuë (4), et m'en vay
" coucher (5); et neantmoins je ne me puis tenir
" que je ne barbouille encor bien mal, ce qui me
" reſte de papier (6). Maudit ſoit ſe [ce] tavolé
" (7), qui me donne tant travaux; car ſans lui
" j'avoye matiere plus belle (8) pour diſcourir."

(1) Mr. Goodall refers the words " it is ſa lang" to the letter, and founds a criticiſm upon it againſt the originality of the French *. But he is plainly wrong in his reference. Mary is made to ſay, that ſhe is going to ſeek her *repoſe*, but is vexed that *it* keeps her from writing to Bothwell, becauſe *it* is ſo long. This is in the true ſpirit of that *frantick* regard, as it has been juſtly called, which the letter-writer has attributed to her. The letter, not being more than half-finiſhed, *could* not yet be pronounced long. And, if it could, it could not keep her from writing news of herſelf. She was actually writing news of herſelf, while ſhe was writing *it*.

* i. 87—88.

Accordingly, the two translations are explicit in giving the words this meaning. Only, the Latin says improperly "tam diu" for *tam diutina.*

(2) This we must suppose to hint at the murder. But, as I have already asked, what was to be settled by Bothwell? It had been determined to bring the King to Edinborough. The only question could be therefore, where he was to be lodged when he came thither. And this surely, upon every principle of common-sense, must have been settled before Mary set out for Glasgow, or at least before Bothwell left her at Kalendar *the very morning of the preceding day.* Accordingly, Buchanan says in his Detection, when he has sent the Queen to Glasgow, that "Bothwell, *as it was betwene thame befoir ac-* "*cordit, provydis* ALL *thingis reddy that wer needful* "*to accomplischе ye haynous act:* first of all *ane* "*hous,**" &c.—"Upon this point," Scotch, omitted in the Latin and French.

(3) "That we may understandis utheris weill," Scotch, means the same as in modern English, *that we may understand each other well.* "That nathing "thairthrow be spilt," Scotch; "ne quid ob id se-"cus fiat," Latin; "que rien ne se fasse autre-"ment," French. Mr. Goodall has justly remarked, that the French translator, not understanding the peculiar import of the word "secus" here, has rendered it by a word which does not convey its present meaning †.

* P. 18. Anderson, ii. and Jebb, i. 242. † i. 94.

(4) "Irkit,"

(4) "Irkit," Scotch, by ſome ſtrange miſ-writing or miſ-print, was transformed into "nakit," and rendered "nudata" in Latin; then improved by an added ſtroke from the hand of the French tranſlator, and heightened into that laſt extreme of blundering abſurdity, "toute nuë." This therefore might well form one of thoſe ever-memorable proofs, which Mr. Goodall brought againſt the pretended originality of the French, and with which he began the courſe that I am now compleating, I truſt, of triumphant attacks upon it *.

(5) This goes on to ſhew, that the firſt part of the letter was written late in the night of January 24th.

(6) This alſo ſhews, that ſhe is now to come ſoon to the end of the preſent day's writing. She has only a little paper remaining. And ſhe only means to write over this little remainder. "Zit I "ceis not to ſcrible all this paper in ſa mekle as "reſtis thairof," Scotch; "nec tamen *me continere* "*poſſum, quò minùs quod reſtat chartæ* deformiter "conſcriberem," Latin; "neantmoins je ne *me* "*puis tenir que je ne* barbouille encor bien mal, "*ce qui me reſte de papier*," French.

(7) "Waryit," Scotch, is a petty curſe, not ſo ſtrong as "maudit," French. "The day, the day," ſays Walter Kennedy, abbot of Corſraguel in 1558, "the terrible day ſall cum," the day of judgment, "quhen the unhappy avaricious man ſall *warry* the "tyme that evir he had," &c.; "the—prince ſall

* i. 88—89.

" *warry* the tyme that evir he wes," &c.; " the mi-
" ſerable ignorant—ſall *curs* the tyme that evir he
" tuke on hym *," &c. — " Pokiſche," Scotch;
" variolato," Latin; and, from the Frenchman's not underſtanding a word which is only of the baſe or colloquial Latinity, though ſo exactly the ſame with one in his own language, rendered by him " ta-
" volé" or pock-marked, inſtead of *variolé*.

(8) Pleſander," Scotch; " elegantiorem," Latin; " plus belle," French.

" He is not over mekle deformit, zit he has reſſa-
" vit verray mekle (1). He has almaiſt ſlane me
" with his braith; it is worſe than zour uncle's (2);
" and zit I cum na neirer unto him, bot in ane
" chyre at the bed-feit (3), and he being at the
" uther end thairof (4).

XXI.—" The meſſage (5) of the father in the
" gait.
" The purpoiſe of Schir James Hamiltoun.
" Of that the laird of Luſſe (6) ſchawit me of
" the delay."

" Non magnoperé deformatus eſt, multum (1)
" tamen accepit. Pené me ſuo enecavit anhelitu;
" eſt enim gravior quám tui propinqui (2); et
" tamen non accedo propiús ad eum, ſed in ca-
" thedrâ ſedeo ad pedes ejus (3), cúm ipſe in re-
" motiſſimâ lecti parte ſit (4).

* Keith, App. 203.

XXI.—

" XXI.—" Nuncius (5) patris in itinere.
" Sermo D. Jacobi Hamiltonii.
" De eo quod Luſſæ comarchus (6) mihi re-
" tulit de dilatione."

" Il n'a pas eſté beaucoup rendu diforme, toutesfois
" il en a pris beaucoup (1). Il m'a quaſi tuée de
" ſon halene, car elle eſt plus fort que celle de
" voſtre parent (2), et neantmoins je n'approche
" pas pres de luy ; mais je m'aſſieds en une chaire
" a ſes pieds (3), luy eſtant en la partie du lict plus
" eſloignée (4).

XXI.—" Du meſſager (5) du pere ſur le chemin.
" Du dire du ſieur Jacques Hambleton.
" De ce que le prevoſt de Luſſe (6) m'a rap-
" porté touchant le retardement."

(1) " Verray mekle," Scotch ; " multum," Latin ; " beaucoup," French.

(2) " Uncle's," Scotch ; " propinqui," Latin ; " parent," French. Bothwell's uncle here meant, I ſuppoſe, was his great uncle, the biſhop of Murray.

(3) " At the bed-feit," Scotch ; " ad pedes ejus," Latin ; " a ſes pieds," French.

(4) I have already noticed this paſſage, as a proof that the letter-writer meant to intimate the King was *poiſoned* by Mary, though juſt before it intimates that he was only *poxed*. And Dr. Robertſon, though his faith revolted at the former inſinuation, though he did not believe the latter, though

no one could believe both, and though the insinuation of both shewed evidently the forgery of the letter; yet continued, like a true confessor to the cause of party, to believe steadily in its authenticity, and even to engraft it upon that very history of his own, which was compelled to give it "the "lie direct."

(5) The French not understanding "nuncius" to mean a "message," as well as a "messenger," rendered it "messager."

(6) "The laird of Lusse" before was "Lus-"sius" and "Lus." It is now "Lussæ comar-"chus" and "le prevost de Lusse." The French, without reflection, takes up the variation of the Latin at the moment.

"Of the demandis that he askit at Joachim,
"Of my estait (1).
"Of my company.
"Of the occasioun of my cumming.
"And (2) of Joseph.
"Item, the purpois that he and I had togidder.
"Of the desyre that he has to ples me, and of "his repentance.
"Of the interpretatioun of his letter."

"De quibus interrogavit Joachimum.
"De ordinatione familiæ (1).
"De meo comitatu.
"De causâ mei adventûs.

"(2) De

" (2) De Joſepho.
" Item, de ſermone inter me et illum.
" De ejus voluntate placendi mihi, et de ejus
" pœnitentiâ.
" De interpretatione ſuarum literarum."

" De ce qu'il s'eſt enquis a Joachim.
" De reglement de la famille (1).
" De ma ſuite.
" De la cauſe de mon arrivée.
" (2) De Joſeph.
" Item, du devis d'entre moy et luy.
" De la volonté qu'il a de me complaire, et de
" ſa repentance.
" De l'interpretation des ſes lettres."

(1) This gives us another proof of what I have obſerved juſt before, the ready obſequiouſneſs of the French to the Latin at every turn. " Gif I had " maid my eſtait," Scotch, is in the place alluded to rendered, " an familiæ catalogum feciſſem," and " ſi j'avoye faict quelque rolle de mes domeſ- " tiques." But now, when the Latin fantaſtically varies what is not varied in his original, the one becomes " de ordinatione familiæ," and the other " du reglement de la famille."

(2) " And," Scotch, omitted in the Latin and French.

" Of

" Of Willie Hiegait's matter (1), of his depart-
" ing.
" Of Monſiure de Levingſtoun (2)"

" De negotio Gulielmi Hiegait (1), et de ſuo diſ-
" ceſſu.
" De domino de Leviſton (2)."

" Du fait de Guillaume Hiegait (1), et de ſon
" depart.
" Du ſieur de Levingſtoun (2)."

(1) Here we have " confuſion worſe confound-
" ed." We have ſeen before Walcar's intelligence attributed to Hiegait, but ſtrengthened and improved by Mynto's; then re-attributed to Walcar; and Mynto's finally given to Hiegait. And now we ſee Mynto's, Walcar's, and Hiegait's own, all ultimately and collectively aſſigned to Hiegait.—" Et" is added in the Latin and the French.

(2) Here, as I ſhall afterwards ſhew, ends the former half of the letter, that which pretends to have been written in the night of January 24.

But what do theſe ſhort notices mean, that come ſo ſtrangely in the middle of the letter? Dr. Robertſon ſuppoſes them to be the *contents* of the *preceding* part of the letter, ſet down originally as looſe *memorandums*, and then coming into the letter, becauſe Mary, for want of other paper, took that of

of the *memorandums* to write upon *. This is too ridiculous in itſelf, to have been ever ſuppoſed by a candid and reflecting examiner of the point. The notices are *not* the contents of the preceding part of the letter. The *laſt* refers only to the *ſecond* part. And the appearance of the letter here is too regular and compleat, to admit of ſuch a caſual and fortuitous advance of the notices. We might as well believe a dance of atoms to have ſettled into the creation of the world. Yet Mr. Hume improved the abſurdity. He ſaid, that theſe notices were "a memorandum of what Mary *intended to* "*add the next morning*, and *it is added* accordingly:" when all the notices referred to in the writing of the next morning, are only *one*, and the other *fourteen* relate wholly to the *prior* part of the letter. And Mr. Tytler attacked him ſo vigorouſly upon his hardy and falſe aſſertion, that he became aſhamed of it, and ſilently withdrew it in a new edition †. Mr. Tytler indeed ſhewed deciſively, againſt him and Dr. Robertſon, that theſe were points on which Mary is made to refer Bothwell to the *bearer* for further or new information, for further in the firſt fourteen, and for new in the laſt of all; that others occur of the very ſame nature, at the end of the other half of the letter; and that theſe are expreſsly underſtood from the makers of the letters themſelves, when they produced them at York, to be "the credit giſin to the berar ‡." This mode of referring to the credit of a bearer, was no uncommon one in thoſe times. And we find Mary ac-

* Diſſ. 28. † Hiſt. v. 147. ‡ Tytler, 111—116.

tually

tually doing so in a letter to Lord Huntly; when "referring the rest to the beirar, quhom ze will "credit," she commits him to God *.

But, as the King's reported conversation ends here, let us examine one point of moment concerning it. Thomas Crawford, the gentleman from the Earl of Lenox who met Mary four miles from Glasgow, was produced by the rebels in England, to authenticate upon oath what the Queen said to him at the meeting, and also *what the King said to her afterwards*. "One Thomas Crawford said," as the commissioners at Westminster tell us, "that "as soon as the *Quene of Scotts had spoken with the* "*King, his master, at Glasgow*, from tyme to tyme "he the said Crawford was secretly informed by "the King of *all things which had passed betwixt the* "*said Quene and the King*, to the intent he should "report the same to the Erle of Lenox his master," both the King and the King's father, it seems, being his master; "and that he did immediately, at the "same tyme, *write the same word by word*, as near "as he possibly could carry the same away." This is surely as poor an expedient for communicating the King's and Queen's discourse to Crawford, as ever a distressed novel-writer was reduced to for conveying intelligence to his reader. "And sure "he was, that the words now reported in his writ-"ing, concerning the communion betwixt the "Quene of Scots and him upon the way near Glas-"gow, are the very same words, in his conscience,

* Goodall, ii. 316. See also Keith, 219, &c. and Sir Ralph Sadler's Letters, 118, &c.

"that

" that were ſpoken; and that others being reported " to him by the King, are the ſame in effect and " ſubſtance as they were delivered by the King to " him, tho' not perceaſe in all parts the very words " themſelves *." Here it is very obſervable, what a mockery is played off upon the reader. Crawford's depoſition was intended to ſubſtantiate this converſation, and ſo derive a credit upon this and all the letters. Yet the converſation might be true, and the letters be falſe. This very man might have received an account of the converſation in the manner inſinuated, and have communicated it again to the rebels. But the intention of the rebels was fruſtrated by the modeſty of the ſwearer.

He does not ſwear, as they originally meant he hould, as they ſtill hoped all would believe he had worn, and as all have actually to this day believed ie did ſwear, that the words ſtated in the letter, for he Queen's addreſs to him and the King's addreſs o her, were reſpectively ſuch in expreſſion or in ubſtance, as the Queen ſpoke and the King reorted to him. No! he *ſeems* to do this, but he oes *not*. He ſwears concerning the Queen's adreſs, that " the words NOW REPORTED IN HIS WRYTING—are the very ſame words—that were ſpoken." He ſwears alſo concerning the King's ldreſs, that " others being *reported to him by the King*, are the ſame in effect and ſubſtance, as they were *delivered by the King to him*;" not, at the words reported to him by the King are the me in effect with—the words reported to him by

* Goodall, ii. 246.

the

the King, as the meaning ſeems at firſt to be; but that the words SET DOWN IN HIS WRITING as "reported to him by the King," are the ſame in effect with what were really reported. His oath concerning the Queen's addreſs explains that concerning the King's. In both, "leſs is meant than "meets the ear." He ſwears not of either, that the words STATED IN THE LETTER are the ſame that were ſpoken and reported; but that the words STATED IN HIS WRITING are. Accordingly "the "ſame Thomas Crawford coming before the com- "miſſioners, he did preſent a WRITING, *which* he "ſaid he had cauſed to be made according to the "truth of his knowledge; *which*, being read, he "affirmed upon his corporal oath there taken *to be* "*true*, the tenor wherof hereafter followeth, *The* "*words betwixt the Queen*," &c. That this writing contained equally the words betwixt the Queen and him, and betwixt the Queen and the King, is plain from the ſucceeding account given by the commiſſioners: "And after this [writing] was "read, the ſaid Crawford ſaid, that as ſoon as the "Quene of Scotts had ſpoken with the King his "maſter at Glaſgow," &c. as before. It is then ſubjoined again by the commiſſioners, that "the "confeſſion of the ſaid Thomas Crawford in wryt- "ing hereafter followeth thus, *The words betwixt* "*the Queen and me*," &c. The reported converſation of the King and Queen, therefore, was equally in the writing with the very addreſs of the Queen to Crawford. It is *this writing*, and the converſation in *it*, which he ſwears to be true. He ſwears

to the truth of nothing positively in the letter; as he has hitherto been presumed to do, both by the friends and by the enemies of Mary. And as the original of this writing has been lost, and no copy of it has been preserved, we know not what it was that he swore to be true.

That he did not swear *all* to be so, is obvious from the singular management of his oath. Had he done this, he would barely have sworn, as he has for that reason been falsely supposed to have sworn, that the words *stated in the letter* were the same as spoken and reported. But he did not chuse this. He selected some parts of the address, and some parts of the conversation. To the truth of *these* he swore, with the evident disparagement of the rest. This partial and exceptive kind of testimony, indeed, threw a brand of censure upon all the rejected passages. It indirectly convicted them of forgery. Several such, carrying plain marks of forgery on their forehead, I have pointed out before. And the oath of Crawford shews clearly, that there were such in the letter. So different does the testimony of Crawford turn out to be, from what it has been uniformly considered to be; and even from what I considered it myself, before the present occasion induced me to examine it! It shews some incidents to be true in the letters, BUT IT PROVES OTHERS TO BE FALSE. And it thus DESTROYS THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE WHOLE AT ONCE, even in the very act of supporting it.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER THE SECOND.

§ I.

LETTER THE FIRST CONTINUED.

XXII.—" I had almaiſt forzet, that Monſiure " de Levingſtoun (1) ſaid to me in the Lady Reres " eir at ſupper, that he (2) wald drink to ye folk yat " I (2) wiſt of, gif I wald pledge thame (3). And " efter ſupper he ſaid to me, quhen I was lenand " upon him warming me at the fyre, Ze have fair " [fair] going to ſé ſeik folk (4), zit ze cannot be " ſa welcom to thame as ze left ſum body this day " (5) in regrait, that will never be blyth quhill " he ſé zow agane (6). I aſkit at him quha that " was. With that he thriſtit my body (7), and ſaid, " that ſum of his folkis had ſene zow in faſcherie " (8); ze may ges at the reſt (9)."

XXII.—" Pené oblita eram, quód Dominus " Leviſtonius (1) D. Rereſiæ dixit in aurem, dum " cœnaret, quód præ-biberet (2) eis quos nôſſem " (2), eâ lege ut ego re-biberem eorum nomine (3). " Ac poſt cœnam dixit mihi, dum ad ignem cale- " fiebam cúm ei inniterer, Bella, inquit, hujus- " modi

" modi hominum visitatio (4); non tamen tanta " e tuo accessu potest eis esse lætitia, quanta in " molestiâ quidam hodie (5) relictus est, qui nun- " quam lætus erit, donec te iterum videbit (6). " Ego de eo quæsivi quisnam is esset. Ille arc- " tiùs corpus meum comprimens (7), respondit, " Unus eorum qui te reliquerunt (8); tu quis sit " divinare potes (9)."

XXII.—" Peu s'en faut que je n'aye oublié, " comme le Sieur de Levinstoun (1) a dit a l'o- " reille en soupant a Madamoiselle Reres, qu'elle " (2) beut a ceux qu'elle (2) cognoissoit, soubs con- " dition que le pleigeroye en leur nom (3). Et " apres souper il me dit, comme je me chauffoye " aupres du feu, estant appuyée sur son espaule, " Voyla une belle visitation de telles gens (4); " mais toutesfois la joye de nostre venue ne leur " peut estre si grande, combien est la facherie a " celuy qui a esté delaissé seul aujourdhuy (5), et " qui ne sera jamais joyeux, jusques a ce qu'il vous " ayt veüe. Derechef (6) je luy demanday, qui " estoit cestuy-la: lui m'embrassant plus estroite- " ment (7), me respondit, C'est l'un de ceux qui " vous ont laissée (8); vous pouvez deviner qui " est cestuy-la (9)."

(1) " Levingstoun," Scotch; " de Levistoun" before, and " Levistonius" now, Latin; " de Le- " vingstoun" before, and " de Levinstoun" now, French. From this and other instances before and after, I suspect the French translator to have had a

Scotch, as well as a French, copy before him; to have kept his eye almoſt entirely upon the Latin; but to have turned his eye to the Scotch at times, as to proper names particularly, and to have caught ſome of his words from it.—But why is Lord Levingſton called "Monſiure" here? He is called "my Lord Leviſtoun" in the rebel journal. And he was at times denominated *Monſieur*, I ſuppoſe, from ſome affectation of French manners in him.

(2) "He" and "I," Scotch; "præ-biberet" and "nôſſem," Latin; "elle" and "elle," by ſome negligence, French. Lady Reres was "ane of "the cheif of the Quenis privie chalmer," ſays Buchanan *. She appears to have always attended the Queen.

(3) This *ſeems* to *prove* my ſuſpicion above. The French has united a part of the Latin and a part of the Scotch together. "Pledge thame," Scotch, is in Latin "re-biberem eorum nomine," and in French "pleigeroye," a word (I ſuppoſe) purely Engliſh and Scotch in this ſenſe of it, "*en* "*leur nom*," an expreſſion purely Latin. And I ſhall endeavour to account for this hereafter.

(4) This alſo is one of the memorable paſſages, that led Mr. Goodall, amidſt the darkneſs of the times in which he lived, to the diſcovery of the true original. The Latin, as he obſerves, "did "read two words wrong in this ſhort ſentence,

* Detection, 8.

"namely

" namely, "' fair'" for "' *fair*'" or *fore*, and for "' ſeik,'" ſick, as it is in the edition of St. Andrew's " in Scotland,—"' *ſik*,'" *ſuch*, with the firſt edition " publiſhed in England [and in Engliſh]. "' Ye "' have ſair going to ſee ſick folk,'" is a mean kind " of phraſe, uſed among people of the loweſt rank. " It ought to have been tranſlated in this or the " like manner, *Iter facis ægrè, ægros viſendi gratiâ.* " —But Mr. Buchanan's miſtakes ſpoil the ſen- " tence very conſiderably, "' Bella hujuſmodi ho- "' minum viſitatio ;'" and the Frenchman could " not mend the matter, it behoved him to follow " his leader, "' Voyla une belle viſitation de telles "' gens.'" I know not what others may think of " this affair, but for my own part I would reckon, " that this ſmall ſentence, maturely weighed, may " be ſufficient to prove, againſt ten thouſand oaths, " and as many acts of parliament, that theſe letters " were originally written in the Scottiſh language*." Such was the honeſt confidence of acuteneſs, in this new track of diſcovery. And every generous reader will be happy to reflect, that ſuch acuteneſs and ſuch confidence were rightly employed; and that *fact* has now come in to the aid of reaſoning, to prove the originality of the Scotch.

But let me obſerve, in addition to this, that the appearance of ſuch a form of expreſſion in the letters betrays their ſpuriouſneſs. It " is a *mean* kind of phraſe, " uſed among people of the *loweſt* rank." It was equally ſo, no doubt, in the days of Mary. The lapſe of two hundred years could not have degraded

* i. 82—83.

the language of kings and queens, into the diction of meanneſs, and the idioms of the loweſt ranks in life. Accordingly, we ſee Buchanan not underſtanding it. It was confined to the familiarities of vulgar converſation. It was therefore not recollected by him. And it ought therefore not to have appeared in a letter attributed to Mary.

This remark, of itſelf, ſhews that Buchanan was not, as he has always been hitherto conſidered to be, the *actual fabricator* of the letters. Had he been, he could not have miſtaken their meaning. He muſt have known *his own* intent in writing every part of them. He muſt have known particularly the drift of this proverbial form of ſpeech, if it had come in the ſtream of compoſition to his pen, and mingled naturally with his language. And I have previouſly ſhewn Lethington, and not Buchanan, to have forged the letters.

(5) This ſhews Lord Levingſton's ſpeech to be made on the evening of Mary's arrival at Glaſgow, on the evening of January the 23d.

(6) The printer of the French has abſurdly thrown "derechef" into a new ſentence.

(7) This paſſage was wrongly expreſſed by the Latin, and, in conſequence of that, more wrongly paraphraſed by the French. "He thriſtit my bo-"dy," means he gave her a ſecret hint with a touch of his elbow, that he had a peculiar and myſterious drift in what he ſaid. This kind of corporal intimation is called *nudging*, in ſome of our northern counties. It ſhould therefore have been

been rendered in Latin, *ille cubitum corpori meo leniter admovit* et, &c. Yet the Latin renders it, "ille *arctiùs* corpus meum *comprimens*." And the French riſes upon it with an addition of abſurdity, "m'embraſſant plus eſtroitement." In this manner, and by a ſcale of miſtakes, is a mere touch of the elbow magnified into a ſtrict compreſſion, and then heightened into a more ſtrict embrace!

(8) "Sum of his folkis had ſene zow in faſche-"rie," Scotch, moſt *freely* tranſlated into "unus "eorum qui te reliquerunt," Latin, and implicitly followed in French, "c'eſt l'un de ceux qui vous "ont laiſſée." Indeed I ſuſpect, from the turn of the clauſe, and from a couple of inſtances which we have ſeen before, that originally the Scotch was as the Latin now repreſents it, that it was ſo at the York conference, and that it was altered into its preſent form for the conference at Weſtminſter. The ſenſe of the Latin is too devious from the Scotch, and yet too adheſive to the context, to be the caſual daſh of a blundering hand. And as we have already ſeen a clauſe certainly, and a ſentence probably, not in this very letter at York, and yet in it at Weſtminſter; ſo we ſhall hereafter ſee a variation, in the very words of the Weſtminſter and York originals of it.

(9) "Ze may ges at the reſt," Scotch; "tu quis "ſit divinare potes," Latin; "vous pouvez de-"viner qui eſt ceſtuy-la," French. This alſo ſerves to ſtrengthen my ſuſpicion. The ſenſe is ſtill carried on as regularly in the Latin, as it is in the Scotch; though in a very different manner.

But in this anecdote concerning Lord Levingſton, as in almoſt every other fact alluded to in the letters, we find a proof of the forgery. Here we particularly trace the feet of the forger, in the dirt of his own ſteps. That Lord Levingſton ſhould know of the adultery, if there had been any; that he ſhould know it ſo well, as to ſpeak of it; that he ſhould ſpeak of it to one of Mary's attendants, to her confidante and intimate; that he ſhould ſpeak of it to her at ſupper, when numbers muſt have been preſent; and that he ſhould at laſt ſpeak of it to Mary herſelf, to Mary *leaning on his ſhoulder*, to Mary in a circle of gueſts ſtanding around the fire; carries ſuch a monſtrous incredibility with it, that none but one of Condé's cocknies, and he a ſworn foe to Mary, can believe it.

Nor is there any reaſon for believing Lord Levingſton to have attended her from Kalendar to Glaſgow. There are ſome ſtrong reaſons for believing the very contrary. That the Queen was eſcorted by a party of the Hamiltons, is inſinuated in a paſſage before; in which Lenox ſends word to Sir James Hamilton, "that he [Lenox] wald never "have beleyit that he [Sir James] wald have ac-"companyit him [Sir James] with the Hammil-"tounis," and in which Sir James anſwers, "yat "he wald nouther accompany Stewart nor Hammil-"toun, bot be Mary's commandement." But it is poſitively aſſerted hereafter; Mary ſaying, "all "the Hammiltounis ar heir, that accompanyis me "verray honorabilly." Buchanan alſo confirms this in his Detection, when he ſays of the Queen, that "to Glaſgow ſcho gais, accompanyit with the "Hammiltounis,

" Hammiltounis, and uther the Kingis naturall ene-
" meis," Bothwell and Huntly, who attended her to Kalendar *. She was therefore escorted by the Hamiltons, and not by the Levingstons, to Glasgow. And as in the other expedition to Stirling, when Lord Levingston is equally represented to have attended the Queen, she says, " we had zister-
" day mair then III. c. hors of his" Huntly's, " and
" Levingstoun's †;" so in this she says, what appears the more striking from the contrast, " all the Ha-
" miltounis ar heir, that accompanyis me verray
" honorabilly;" and then adds, what *doubly* excludes the idea of any others being with her at the time, " all the freindis of the uther," the Stewarts, " convoyis me quhen I gang to sé him," the King. Lord Levingston therefore *could* not have said what he is here represented to have said, after supper on the evening of the arrival at Glasgow.

XXIII.—" I wrocht this day (1), quhill it was
" twa houris (2), upon this bracelet (3), for to put
" the key of it within the lock thairof, quhilk is
" couplit underneth with twa cordounis (4). I
" have had sa lytill time that it is evill maid; bot I
" sall mak ane fairer (5). In the meane tyme (6)
" tak heid that nane that is heir sé it, for all the

* Anderson, ii. 17. Jebb, i. 242. and Appendix, N° x.
† Letter vii. 2.

" warld will knaw it, becaus for haiſt it was maid " in yair preſence (7)."

XXIII.—" Ego hodie (1) elaboravi uſque ad " horam ſecundam (2) in hâc armillâ (3), ut " clavem includerem, quæ ſubtus eſt annexa duo- " bus funiculis (4); malé autem facta eſt ob tem- " poris anguſtiam, ſed faciam pulchriorem (5). " Interim (6) proſpice, ne quiſquam eorum qui hîc " ſunt videat, quia omnes mortales eum agnoſcent, " tantâ feſtinatione in omnium oculis facta eſt (7)."

XXIII.—" J'ay aujourdhuy (1) travaillé a deux " heures (2) en ce braſſelet (3), pour y enfermer la " clef, qui eſt jointe au bas avec deux petites " cordes (4). Il eſt mal fait, a cauſe du peu de " temps qu'on a eu; mais j'en feray un plus beau " (5). Cependant (6) adviſez que perſonne de " ceux qui ſont icy ne le voye, car tout le monde " le cognoiſt, tant il a eſté fait a la haſte devant " les yeux de chacun (7)."

(1) This is the ſecond day of writing, as will appear from a note hereafter; the day but one after the arrival at Glaſgow; January 25th.

(2) " Quhill it was twa houris," Scotch, till two o'clock; as Mary is ſaid in the rebel journal to have gone with Bothwell " to Baſtian's banquet " and maſque about eleven houris, and thaireſter " thay baith returnit to the abbay, and talkit quhill " twelve houris and eſtir *." Accordingly the Latin ſays, " ad horam ſecundam." And the

* Appendix, N° x.

French,

French, coinciding exactly in idiom with the Scotch, says, "a deux heures." But let us observe the conduct of Mary here. She had come to Glasgow, on a visit to the King in a great illness. The King is still very ill. He keeps his bed. Yet what does Mary do on this visit? She sees him immediately on her arrival. She goes away to supper. She returns to him. She sits with him for some time. She excuses herself for sitting longer, because of her weariness. She sees him the next morning. But, for the rest of the day, we know not what she does. We only know, that she has very little conversation with him; that, in the evening or night of this day, she writes a long account of what the King said the night before; and that only a hint occurs, of what the King had said on this day. So greatly does she neglect him for the second day, the day after her arrival! But on the third this neglect is consummated, by what is said here, her working till two o'clock in the afternoon upon a bracelet; and by what is said hereafter, "I saw him not this evening for to end "zour bracelet." And this forms one more of the wild incredibilities, that mark the letters. Had Mary come from a *pretended* regard, as I have remarked before, she *would* not have done so; and, as she came from a *real*, she *could* not.

(3) "*This* bracelet" implies it to have been sent with the letter to Bothwell. Accordingly she bids him immediately afterward "tak heid, that "nane that is heir sé it." Yet she soon afterwards says thus to him, "advertise me gif ze will "have

"have it." Such are the contradictions, in which the letter-writer involves himself! And the second pretended confession of Paris confirms the contradiction, by declaring that he did not carry the bracelets till some time afterwards *.

(4) That *men* wore bracelets so late as this period, was unknown to me, but is plain from the letter. These were not fastened together, as they now are, by a snap-lock. They had a formal key to the lock.

(5) "I sall mak ane fairer," Scotch, implying that she would make *another*; "j'*en* feray un plus "beau," French, implying that she would make *it* fairer; because the Latin is ambiguous, "faciam pulchriorem."

(6) "In the meane tyme," Scotch, by a wrong punctuation was thrown into the preceding sentence; when it plainly belongs, and is given by the Latin and the French, to this. I have therefore placed it right.

(7) This is another of those contradictions, in which the unsettled ideas of a forger are continually involving him, and by which he betrays himself continually. Lord Levingston is just before represented as knowing of the adultery, as hinting it to one of Mary's confidantes at supper, and as even insinuating it plainly to Mary herself in the midst of company. Nor is Mary alarmed at his knowledge, at his hint, or at his insinuation. Yet

* Goodall, ii. 79.

now

now ſhe is afraid, leſt any of her preſent attendants ſhould ſee a pair of bracelets, which ſhe was ſending to Bothwell. She ſeems to *enjoy* a real detection of the adultery by Levingſton, and even an intimation given of it in the preſence of many attendants, and even a whiſpered annunciation of it to herſelf before many perſons who were cloſe to her. And yet *now* ſhe is apprehenſive of any ſuſpicions of it in any of her train, from the ſight of one of her preſents. Thus the ſturdy oak, that feared no blaſts of winter, in an inſtant is turned into a ſenſitive plant, and ſhrinks up at the approach of a finger!

XXIV.—"I am now paſſand to my faſcheous "purpois. Ze gar me diſſemble ſa far, that I (1) "haif horring thairat; and ye caus me do almaiſt "(2) the office of a traitores. Remember how, "gif it wer not to obey zow (3), I had rather be "deid or I did it (3); my hart (4) bleides at it "(3). Summa, he will not cum with me, except "upon conditioun that I will promeis to him, that "I ſall be at bed and buird with him as of befoir, "and that I ſall leave him (5) na ofter (6); and "doing this upon my word (7), he will do all "thingis that I pleis, and cum with me. Bot he "hes prayit me to remane upon him quhil uther "morne (8)."

XXIV.—"Nunc proficiscor ad institutum meum " odiosum. Tu me adeó dissimulare cogis, ut " etiam ipsa (1) horream; ac tantúm non (2) pro- " ditricis partes me agere cogis. Illud reminiscere, " quód nisi tibi obsequendi desiderium me cogeret " (3), mallem mori quám hæc (3) committere; " cor enim mihi ad hæc (3) sanguinem fundit (4). " Breviter, negat se mecum venturum, nisi eâ lege, " ut ei pollicear me communi cum eo mensâ et " thoro usuram velut antea, ac ne sæpiús eum de- " relinquam (5). Hoc si faciam (7), quicquid " velim faciet, ac me comitabitur; sed me rogavit, " ut se exspectarem in diem perendinum (8)."

XXIV.—"Maintenant je vien a ma deliberation " odieuse. Vous me contraignez de tellement dis- " simuler, que j' (1) en ay horreur, veu que vous " me forcez de ne joüer pas seulement (2) le per- " sonnage d'une trahistresse. Qu'il vous souvienne, " que si l'affection de vous plaire ne me forcoit (3), " j'aymeroye mieux mourir que de commettre ces " choses (3); car le cœur me seigne (4) en icelles " (3). Bref, il ne veut venir avec moy, sinon " soubs ceste condition, que je luy promette d'user " en commun d'une seule table, et d'une mesme " lict, comme auparavant; et que je ne l'aban- " donne (5) si souvent (6): et que, si je le fay " ainsi (7), il fera tout ce que je voudray, et me " suivra. Mais il m'a prié, que je l'attendisse encor " deux jours (8)."

(1) "I," Scotch; "etiam ipsa," Latin; "je," French, from the corrected Latin.

(2) "And

(2) "And—almaiſt," Scotch; "ac tantúm non," Latin; and, from the ignorance of the Frenchman concerning the peculiar import of *tantúm non*, "veu "que vous me forcez de *ne* joüer pas *ſeulement*," French.

(3) "Gif it wer not to obey zow," Scotch; "niſi "tibi obſequendi deſiderium me cogeret," Latin; "ſi l'affection de vous plaire ne me forcoit," French. "It, it," Scotch; "hæc, hæc," Latin; "ces choſes, icelles," French.

(4) This is the ſecond fit of remorſe. It is alſo a ſtrong one, But it is gone almoſt as ſoon as the other. It ends ſuddenly, like that. And, like that, it ſuddenly paſſes off into a proſecution of the very buſineſs, which is the ſubject of the remorſe. Both remind one of the repentance of Falſtaff, who declares that he will not be damned for ever a King's ſon in Chriſtendom, and then, the very next minute, goes "from praying to purſe-"taking."

(5) Whoſe fault was it, that the King and Queen were not at bed and board before? The Queen's, ſays the letter. *She* had left *him*. Thus does the forger contrive to tell us of his own impoſture, by the force which he puts upon facts. And let us take the ſigns, which he has ſo kindly been pleaſed to give us, and add one more proof of the forgery to the many which we have ſeen already.

The King and Queen were at Stirling together, about the end of September before. Their conduct in parting there, let the French embaſſadour, and the

privy

privy council of Scotland, tell us together. "On "the 22d of the laſt month," ſays the former in a letter of October 15th, "your brother—arrived "at Stirling,—where he found this Queen in good "health.—The Queen is now returned from Stir- "ling to Liſleburgh," Edinborough, "as being "vacation-ſeaſon, which, as you know, continues "in this country from Auguſt until Martin-mas, "and during which the nobility are convened to "look after the public affairs of the Queen and her "realm. *The King however abode ſtill at Stirling.*" "About ten or twelve days ago," ſays the council in a letter of October the 8th to the Queen Dowa- ger of France, "the Queen at our requeſt came to "this towne of Liſleburgh," Edinborough, "to "give her orders about ſome affairs of ſtate, which "without her perſonal preſence could not be got "diſpatched. *Her Majeſty was deſirous the King* "*ſhould have come along with her*; but *becauſe he* "*liked to remain at Stirling, and wait her return* "*thither*, ſhe left him there, *with intention to go* "*towards him again* in five or ſix days." Yet IT WAS HER FAULT, ſays the letter-writer, that they were not at bed and board together. But *why* did the King "like to remain at Stirling," when the Queen was obliged to go to Edinborough upon public buſineſs? The embaſſadour and the council ſhall again tell us. "The King, however, abode "ſtill at Stirling; and *he told me there, that he had* "*a mind to go beyond ſea*, in a ſort of deſperation." Yet IT WAS MARY, ſays the letter-writer, that was frequently

frequently or continually leaving *him*. "I ſaid to "him," adds the embaſſadour, "what I thought "proper at the time, but ſtill I could not believe "that he was in earneſt. Since that time, the Earl "of Lenox, his father, came to viſit him [at Stir-"ling]; and he has written a letter to the Queen, "ſignifying that *it is not in his power to divert his "ſon from his intended voyage*, and prays *her Majeſty "to uſe her intereſt therein*." "Meantime, while the "Queen was abſent," ſay the council, "the Earl "of Lenox, his father, came to viſit him at Stir-"ling; and having remained with him two or three "days, he went his way again to Glaſgow.—From "Glaſgow my Lord Lenox wrote to the Queen, "and acquainted her Majeſty, that altho' *formerly*, "both by *letters* and *meſſages*, and *now* alſo by *com-"munication* with his ſon, he *had endeavoured to divert "him from an enterprize he had in view*, he never-"theleſs *had not the intereſt* to make him alter his "mind. This project, he tells the Queen, was to "*retire out of the kingdom beyond ſea*; and that *for "this purpoſe he had juſt then a ſhip lying ready*." Yet THE KING WOULD GLADLY HAVE LIVED WITH THE QUEEN, the letter inſinuates, if ſhe would have permitted him. "This letter from the Earl of "Lenox the Queen received on Michaelmas-day "in the morning; and that ſame evening the King "arrived here [at Edinborough] about ten of the "clock. When he and the Queen were a-bed to-"gether, her Majeſty took occaſion to talk to him "about the contents of his father's letter, and *be-*

"*ſought*

"*ſought* him to *declare to her* the *ground* of his "*deſigned voyage*; but in this he would *by no means* "ſatisfy her." "The Earl of Lenox's letter came "to the Queen's hand on St. Michael's day; and "her Majeſty was pleaſed to impart the ſame in- "continent to the lords of her council, in order "to receive advice thereupon. And if her Majeſty "was *ſurprized* by this advertiſement from the "Earl of Lenox, theſe lords were no leſs *aſtoniſhed* "to underſtand, that the King ſhould entertain any "thought *of departing after ſo ſtrange a manner out* "*of her preſence*, nor was it *poſſible* for them to "form a *conjecture* from whence ſuch an imagina- "tion could take its riſe.—The ſame evening the "King came to Edinburgh, and then her Majeſty "entered calmly with him upon the ſubject *of his* "*going abroad*, that ſhe might underſtand from "himſelf the *occaſion* of *ſuch a reſolution*. But he "would *by no means* give, or acknowledge that he "had, any *occaſion* offered him of *diſcontent*." Yet it WAS THE QUEEN that would not permit him to live with her. "Early the next morning the "Queen ſent for me, and for all the lords and "other counſellors:—and the Queen *prayed* the "King to *declare*, in preſence of the lords, and be- "fore me, the *reaſon* of his *projected departure*, "ſince he would not be pleaſed to notify the "ſame to her in private betwixt themſelves. She "likewiſe *took him by the hand*, and *beſought him* "*for God's ſake* to *declare*, if *ſhe* had given him "*any occaſion* for *this reſolution*; and *entreated* he

"might

" might *deal plainly*, and *not ſpare her*.—I likewiſe " took the freedom to tell him, that his departure " muſt certainly affect either *his own* or the *Queen's* " honour; that if the Queen had afforded any " ground for it, his declaring the ſame would affect " her Majeſty; as, on the other hand, if he ſhould " go away without giving any cauſe for it, this " thing could not at all redound to his praiſe.—The " King at laſt declared, the HE HAD NO GROUND " AT ALL GIVEN HIM for ſuch a deliberation." " The lords of council being acquainted *early* next " morning, that the King was *juſt a going* to re- " turn to Stirling, they repaired to the Queen's " apartment,—to underſtand from the King, whe- " ther, according to advice imparted to the Queen " by the Earl of Lenox, he had formed a reſolu- " tion to depart by ſea out of the realme, and upon " what ground, and for what end.—And here we " did remonſtrate to him, that his own honour, the " Queen's honour, the honour of us all, were con- " cerned.—And for her Majeſty, ſo far was ſhe " from miniſtring to him occaſion of diſcontent, " that on the contrary *he had all the reaſon in the* " *world to thank GOD for giving him ſo wiſe* " *and virtuous a perſon, as ſhe had ſhewed herſelf in* " *all her actions*. Then her Majeſty was pleaſed " to enter into the diſcourſe, and *ſpoke affectionately* " *to him*, beſeeching him, that ſeeing he would not " open his mind in private to her the laſt night, " *according to her moſt earneſt requeſt*, he would at " leaſt be pleaſed to declare before theſe lords, " where ſhe had offended him in any thing. But

" though the Queen, and all others that were pre-
" ſent, together with Monſ. du Croc, uſed all the
" intereſt they were able, to perſwade him to open
" his mind; yet he would not at all *own*, that he
" intended any voyage or had any diſcontent; and
" declared *freely*, that the QUEEN HAD GIVEN
" HIM NO OCCASION FOR ANY." Yet he per-
ſiſted in it. Such was the ſpirit and underſtand-
ing of this wayward child of fortune! He com-
pleatly exculpated the Queen. But the letter-
writer will not take even *his* word in her favour.
He will be like his hero Darnly. He will perſiſt
when " he has no ground at all given him for
" ſuch a deliberation." And Mary ſhall be con-
demned for not ſuffering Darnly to live with her,
even though Darnly himſelf ſays that he is reſolved
to go abroad, though he tells it to Le Croc,
though he tells it to Lenox, and though he owns
before all the council he has no reaſon for ſuch a
reſolution.

But let us attend the farther account of this
extraordinary man. " Whereupon," adds the
council, " he took leave of her Majeſty, and went
" his way *." And, as the embaſſadour proceeds
to ſay, " thereupon he *went out of the chamber of*
" *preſence*, ſaying to the Queen, ADIEU, MADAM,
" YOU SHALL NOT SEE MY FACE FOR A LONG
" SPACE †." Yet, poor good man! THE QUEEN
WOULD NOT LET HIM STAY AT HOME.

Nor was he worſe than his word. He ſtill per-
ſiſted in his reſolution of going abroad. Even

* Keith, 348—349. † Ibid. 345—346.

when

when he abandoned this, he kept at a diſtance from the Queen. An order had been made by the privy council on the 24th of September, for ſummoning the nobles, gentlemen, and others, of ſome adjacent counties, to meet the King and Queen at Melroſs on the 8th of October following, in their progreſs to hold aſſizes at ſeveral places in perſon. But the King choſe not to attend, and ſhe was obliged to go without him *.

In this progreſs ſhe was ſeized with a malignant fever. On the 25th of October, at ſix in the morning, ſhe lay for a conſiderable time as if ſhe had been quite dead. And in a letter from the French embaſſadour, dated the 24th, he ſays, That the King was at Glaſgow, that *he had been apprized of her illneſs*, that he had *had time enough to have viſited her*, if he had been willing, and that yet he had never been near her. She had then been ill eight days. "This is a fault in the King," ſays the embaſſadour, "for which I can make no apology." And the Biſhop of Roſs adds in a letter of the 27th; "the King all this tyme remanis in Glaſcow, and "zit is nocht cumm towart the Quenis Majeſtie." He appeared at laſt, when the criſis had been now three days over. This took place on the 25th. She then fell into a violent ſweat, which was the termination of the fever. Yet ſhe was left in a very weak condition. And it was not till the 28th that the King appeared. Even then he ſtaid only one night with her †.

* Goodall, i. 302—303. † Keith App. 133—136, and Pref. vii.

In this third period of voluntary exile from the Queen, he continued about a month; though the Queen was all the while in an un-recovered ſtate. But let us ſee Le Croc's account of her at this period. "The Queen," he ſays in a letter of December the 2d, "is for the preſent at Craigmillar.— "She is in the hands of the phyſicians, and I do "aſſure you is not at all well, and do believe the "principal part of her diſeaſe to conſiſt in a deep "grief and ſorrow: nor does it ſeem poſſible to "make her forget the ſame. Still ſhe repeats theſe "words, *I could wiſh to be dead.* You know very "well, that the injury ſhe has received is exceed- "ing great, and her Majeſty will never forget it. "The King her huſband came to viſit her at "Jedburgh," where ſhe lay ill, "the very day "after Captain Hay went away," who was ſent with the Biſhop's letter on Sunday October the 27th *. "He remained there but one ſingle night; "and yet in that ſhort time I had a great deal of "converſation with him. He returned to ſee the "Queen about five or ſix days ago: and the day "before yeſterday he ſent word to deſire me to "ſpeak with him half a league from this; which "I complied with, and found that things go ſtill "worſe and worſe. I think, he intends to go away "to-morrow; but *in any event* I'm *much aſſured*, as "*I always have been*, that *he won't be preſent at the* "*baptiſm* †." Le Croc was right. Darnly *would* not be preſent at the baptiſm of the prince, his own

* Keith App. 135. † Keith Pref. vii.

ſon;

ſon; which took place at Stirling a few days afterwards. Yet, with an abſurdity which even Le Croc did not expect from him, he thought proper to take up his reſidence at that very time in Stirling; though he was previouſly determined not to come near the Queen, not to have any part in the baptiſm, and not to have any ſhare in the entertainments. He thus expoſed himſelf and her the more conſpicuouſly by his conduct. The French embaſſadour was ſo ſhocked with his behaviour, that he abſolutely refuſed to ſee him. But let the embaſſadour ſpeak his own ſentiments upon the occaſion. "The King," he ſays in a letter of December 23, "had *ſtill given out*, that "he would *depart two days before the baptiſm*; but "when the time came on he made no ſign of re-"moving at all, only he ſtill *kept cloſe within his* "*own apartment*. The very day of the baptiſm he "ſent three ſeveral times, deſiring me either to "come and ſee him, or to appoint him an hour "that he might come to me in my lodgings: ſo "that I found myſelf obliged *at laſt* to ſignify to "him, that ſeeing he was in no good correſpond-"ence with the Queen, I had it in charge from the "moſt Chriſtian King to have no conference with "him. And I cauſed tell him likewiſe, that as it "would not be very proper for him to come to my "lodgings, becauſe there was ſuch a crowd of "company there; ſo he might know that there "were two paſſages to it, and if he ſhould enter "by the one, I would be conſtrained to go out by

" the other *. His bad deportment is incurable, " nor can there be ever any good expected from " him.—The Queen behaved herſelf admirably " well all the time of the baptiſm, and ſhewed ſo " much earneſtneſs to entertain all the goodly " company in the beſt manner, that this made her " forget, in a good meaſure, her former ailments. " But I am of the mind, however, that ſhe will " give us ſome trouble as yet; nor can I be brought " to think otherwiſe, ſo long as ſhe continues to be " ſo penſive and melancholy. She ſent for me " yeſterday, and I found her laid on the bed *weep-* " *ing ſore*, and ſhe complained of a grievous pain " in her ſide. And for a ſurcharge of evils, it " chanced that the day her Majeſty ſet out from " Edinbourgh for this place," Stirling, " ſhe hurt " one of her breaſts on the horſe, which ſhe told " me is now ſwelled. I am much grieved for the " many troubles and vexations ſhe meets with †."

In this mode of acting, adding abſurdity to abſurdity, and heaping one inſult upon the head of another, did the King continue till the 26th or 27th of December. He then received a letter from his father, of whom he inherited all his folly and perverſeneſs. " For that the extremitie of this ſtormy " weather," ſays Lenox, " cauſes me to dout of

* To this it is that Buchanan alludes, in his wild way of writing hiſtory, *à la mode de Gibbon*, when he ſays, that " ye " forane ambaſſadouris wer warnit not to talk with him, " quhen zit the maiſt part of the day thay wer all in the ſame " caſtell quhair he was." 15. Anderſon, ii. and 242. Jebb i.

† Keith Pref. vii.

"zour ſetting forward ſo ſoon on zour journey "[to Peebles], therefore I ſtay till I heir farther "from zour Majeſtie, which I ſall humbly beſeech "zow I may, and I ſall not fayle to wayt upon zow "accordinglie *." On the receipt of this, the King, notwithſtanding "the extremitie of this ſtormy "weather," ended his reſidence at Stirling juſt as he had continued it before. He ſat off, without taking the leaſt notice of the Queen. He retired to Glaſgow. And there he was taken ill †.

I have gone over this hiſtory of the King's conduct towards the Queen, for the laſt four months before his illneſs; in order partly to fix upon its proper foundation, which I think has never yet been done, the King's non-appearance at the baptiſm ‡; and principally to lay open, in a ſatisfactory manner, another proof of the general forgery. Theſe little incidents in the letters have not been ſufficiently attended to before. Yet they are deci-

* Keith Pref. vii. † Knox, 401. Goodall, i. 321.

‡ The abſence of the King from the baptiſm and the entertainments, has been accounted for differently by the friends and the enemies of Mary. The latter have referred it to the unkindneſs of the Queen (Detection, 15, and Robertſon, i. 389). The former have aſcribed it to Elizabeth's private inſtructions to her embaſſadour, not to give the appellation of King to Darnly (Keith, 360. Goodall, i. 319. Guthrey's Scotch Hiſt. vi. 373, and Stuart, i. 175—176). But both are plainly miſled by a ſpirit of refinement. The abſence was occaſioned by the King himſelf. *He choſe to be abſent.* This Le Croc's letter deciſively ſhews. He had determined to be abſent, weeks before the baptiſm. And he adhered to his determination at it.

ſive evidences againſt them. And they ſhould all of them be dwelt upon particularly, as they ariſe.

(6) I now wiſh to point out a new evidence of the forgery, in a new ſpecies of variation. The letters, as I have ſhewn in the former volume, were exhibited in Scotch at York and at Weſtminſter. Both theſe MSS have been tranſmitted down to us, the one in a number of extracts made by the commiſſioners, and the other in the printed copy. But then there are ſome different readings in the two MSS, which have never been noticed. Thus a paſſage before, "he is not over mekle *deformit*," as it ſtands in the CODEX WESTMONASTERIENSIS, appears thus in the CODEX EBORACENSIS, "he is "not oer meikle *ſpilt*." The words immediately following too, "zit he has *reſſavit* verray mekle," are read thus, "*bot* he has *gottin* verray mekill." The ſucceeding words alſo are a little different, "he has almaiſt ſlane me with his braith, it is "*worſe than* [York MS *war nor*] zour un- "cle's, and zit I cum na neirer *unto him* [left out "in York MS], bot [*ſat*, York MS] in ane," &c. And in the next extract made by the commiſſioners, we have the following variations thrown into the paſſage now before us: "Remember "[*bow*, Weſtm. MS *yow*, York MS] he will "not cum with me, except upon conditioun "that I will promeis to him, that I ſall be at bed "and buird with him as of befoir, and that "I ſall leif him *na ofter*" [*na efter*, York]. "Na ofter," Scotch, has "ne ſæpiùs," Latin, and

and "si souvent," French. There is some sense in the French providing, that the Queen should not leave the King *so often*. But there is absolutely none at all, in the Latin charging her not to leave him *oftener*. Yet the Latin copy reading "sæpiùs," the Frenchman, with more judiciousness than he generally exerts, retained the word, and furnished a meaning. And the reading of the York copy removes all the absurdity at once, gives us the true word, and shews us the true meaning. The Queen was not to leave the King afterwards.—With such variations, were the very copies delivered to the commissioners at Westminster and at York! At the *first* appearance of Mary's letters, she had written "spilt," "gottin," and "na efter;" but, at the second, the words were changed into "de-"formit," "resavit," and "na ofter." And this little circumstance alone would have been sufficient, to discloſe the whole forgery.

(7) "Upon my word," Scotch, omitted in the Latin and French.

(8) "Quhil uther morne," till the next day but one. This shews the second half of the letter to be written on January 25th; as January 27th was actually the day, on which she set out with the King *.

* See Rebel Journal in Appendix, N° x.

§ II.

§ II.

LETTER THE FIRST CONTINUED.

XXV.—" He ſpak verray bravely at ye begin-
" ning, as yis beirer will ſchaw zow, upon the pur-
" pois (1) of the Ingliſmen, and of his depart-
" ing (2): bot in ye end he returnit agane to his
" humilitie (3).

XXVI.—" He ſchawit, amongis uther purpo-
" ſis (4), yat he knew weill aneuch, that my bro-
" ther had ſchawin me yat thing, quhilk he had
" ſpoken in Striviling, of the quhilk he denyis ye
" ane half, and abone all yat ever he came in his
" chalmer (5). For to mak him traiſt me,"

XXV.—" Valde ferociter ab initio loquebatur,
" uti qui has fert tibi narrabit, de colloquio (1)
" cum Anglis, de ſuo diſceſſu (2): ſed tandem re-
" verſus eſt ad ſuam humanitatem (3).

XXVI.—" Inter alia conſilia quæ mihi retuli
" (4), ſe ſatis ſcire, quód meus frater ad me detu-
" liſſet, quæ ipſe cum eo egiſſet Sterlini; quarun
" rerum dimidium negavit, ac maximé illud, quód
" fratris mei cubiculum eſſet ingreſſus (5). U
" ego faciliús fidem apud eum".

XXV.-

XXV.—" Au commencement il parloit fort " aſprement, comme vous recitera celuy qui porte " les preſentes, du devis (1) eu avec les Anglois, " et de ſon depart (2); mais enfin il revint a ſa " douceur (3).

XXVI.—" Entre autres ſecrets qu'il me recita, " il dit (4), qu'il ſcavoit bien, que mon frere " m'avoit rapporté ce qu'il avoit fait avec luy a " Stirling; des quelles choſes il a nié la moytie, " et principalement, qu'il fuſt entré en la chambre " de mon frere (5). Et afin"

(1) " Purpois," Scotch; " colloquio," Latin; " devis," French. But the tranſlations are both wrong. " Purpois of the Ingliſmen and of his de- " parting," can mean only the *point* concerning the Engliſhmen and his departure.

(2) He ſpoke very bravely at the beginning, ſays the letter, concerning the plan of departing in an Engliſh veſſel. But let us turn to the former part of the letter, and there ſee how very bravely he ſpeaks. The letter-writer neglected to do this, and ſo plunged into a contradiction. " I aſkit " quhy he wald pas away in ye Inglis ſchip; he " DENYIS IT, and SWEIRIS THAIRUNTO; bot he " *grantis* that *he ſpak with the men.*" All his bravery lay in *denying* the fact, and in denying it with an *oath*. So little was he reſolute, at the beginning or at the end of the converſation, about his departure in an Engliſh ſhip; that he denied he ever

ever had any such intention, and he swore he had not. And so gross is the contradiction here! Indeed the line of conduct *here* assigned him, would have suited much better with his character, than what was assigned before. The letter also would then have agreed with history. But Lethington first makes him deny the intention, then thinks it best to make him talk very bravely about it at first, but forgets to eraze the former when he has inserted the latter. And thus both stand together in the same letter, the one to shew a forgery from its opposition to history, and both to shew it again from their opposition to each other.—"And," Scotch, omitted in the Latin, but preserved in the French from the corrected Latin, "et."

(3) "Humilitie," Scotch; "humanitas," Latin; "douceur," French. The Miscellaneous Remarker observes *, that, as "it would have "been absurd to have made Mary praise the in-"nate and characteristical civility of Darnly, *sua* "*humanitas*, hence we may conclude that the La-"tin translator used the word *humilitas*, and that "*humanitas* is an error of the press." Yet "the "faithful French translator says—*sa douceur*." The word *humanitas* was an error of the press or pen. But it was altered into *humilitas* in the corrected Latin. *For that reason*, the Frenchman says "*sa* "*douceur*." He does not mean *humanity*, but *humility*, by the word. And he actually uses the same word in the same sense, a few pages before; "ze

* P. 10.

"saw

" ſaw him never ſpeik mair *humbler*," being rendered " nunquam vidi eam—loqui *humiliùs*," and " je ne l'ay jamais veu—parler ſi *doucement*."

(4) " Purpoſis," Scotch, diſcourſes, not " conſilia," Latin, or " ſecrets," French. *Dixit* is omitted in Latin, and yet " il dit" appears in French from the corrected Latin.

(5) What this alludes to, I know not. " His," Scotch; " fratris mei," Latin; " mon frere," French.

" it behovit me to fenzé in ſum thingis with him " (1): thairfoir, quhen he requeiſtit me to promeis " unto him, that quhen he was haill we ſuld have " baith ane bed; I ſaid to him fenzeingly, and " making me to beleve his promiſis (2), that gif he " changeit not purpois (3) betwix yis and that tyme, " I wald be content thairwith: bot in the meane " tyme I bad him tak heid, that he let na body wit " thairof, becaus, to ſpeik amangis ourſelfis, the " lordis culd not be offendit, nor will evill thairfoir " (4); bot thay wald feir in reſpect of the boiſting " he made of thame (5), that gif ever we"

" aſſequerer, neceſſe mihi erat quædam fingendo ei " obſecundare (1). Quamobrem cúm rogaret ut ei " pollicerer, cúm primúm revaluiſſet, communem " nobis fore lectum; ego diſſimulanter dixi, ac fin-

" gens

" gens me bellis (2) ejus pollicitationibus fidem
" habere, me consentire, nisi ille interea propositum
" mutaret (3) : sed interea videret ne quisquam
" id rescisceret, propterea quód proceres nostris col-
" loquiis offendi non possent, nec ideó (4) malé
" velle ; sed in timore futuros, quód comitatus
" fuisset (5), si aliquando inter nos concordes esse-
" mus, se daturum"

" qu'il me creust plustost, j'estoye contrainte de luy
" accorder quelque chose en dissimulant (1) : par-
" quoy, lors qu'il me priast, que je luy promisse,
" qu'incontinent qu'il seroit guery, nous ne faisions
" plus qu'un lict ; je luy dy par dissimulation, en
" faingnant que je croyoye a ses belles (2) pro-
" messes, que je l'y accorderoye, pour veu qu'il ne
" changeast d' advis (3) : mais cependant qu'il
" regardast que personne n'en sceust rien, parce que
" les seigneurs ne pourroient estre offensez de nos
" propos, ny consequemment (4) nous en vouloir
" mal. Ains seroint en crainte de ce qu'il m'auroit
" suivy (5). Et si nous pouvions estre d'accord
" ensemble,"

(1) " Fenzé in sum thingis with him," Scotch ; " quædam fingendo *ei obsecundare*," Latin ; " *de* " *luy accorder* quelque chose en dissimulant," French.

(2) " Promisis," Scotch ; " *bellis* pollicitationi-" bus," Latin ; " *belles* promesses," French.

(3) This is a stroke at the *real* character of Darnly. Truth breaks out through the cloud of fiction.

fiction. And he, who has been hitherto repreſented as a forced exile from his Queen and his family, is here intimated to have been, as he was, a voluntary one. We have a ſimilar ray of truth flaſhing out juſt before, concerning his reſoluteneſs about the Engliſh ſhip, and his own departure in it; another ſtill nearer, concerning Murray's enmity to Darnly; and others again, concerning the enmity of the lords in general to him.

(4) "Thairfoir," Scotch; "ideó," Latin; "conſequemment," French. The Frenchman applied "ideó" to the lords being offended, when it relates to the King and Queen converſing together; and ſo rendered it, as he does. But what poor and petty exertion of mind is here! The Queen gravely informs the King, that the lords could not be diſcontented, and would not form plots,—though he and ſhe did *talk*, that is, *live*, together. Was ever ſuch impertinence of words?

(5) "Boiſting," Scotch, ſignifies threatening. So Mary's nobles ſay, "in cais" they "had raiſit "ane armie" to releaſe her from Lochlevin, "it "was menaſit and *boiſt*, that thay [the rebels] "ſould ſend hir heid to thame *." And this ſenſe the Latin intended to expreſs, the *comitatus* of it being plainly a miſ-print only for *comminatus*. Yet the Frenchman finding *comitatus*, and having no Scotch to direct him, he was obliged to follow it. And he followed it with ſome judgment,

* Goodall, ii. 355.

giving

giving a new turn to the paſſage, and refining the blunder into ſenſe.

But we have here another contradiction to the former part of the letter. Mary before "inquyrit "him,—yat he was angrie with ſum of the lordis, "and wald *threittin thame:* HE DENYIS that, and "ſays *he luifis thame all*, and prayis me to give "traiſt to nathing aganis him." Yet now it appears, that Mary believes, and Darnly does not deny, he *had* threatened them *much*, even *ſo* much, that they would be alarmed with any proſpect of union betwixt him and the Queen. This is a plain contradiction.

But let me go on to obſerve, that this threatening, thus mentioned twice, is undoubtedly real; and that the alarm ſure to be taken by the lords, on a proſpect of an union between the King and Queen, was proved to be dreadfully ſo in the event. The reconciliation took place, in conſequence of this ſickneſs and this viſit; and the deſtruction of Darnly followed inſtantly afterwards. This paſſage, therefore, becomes very remarkable. It is pregnant with meaning. And it involuntarily betrays the grand ſecret of the King's murder.

"we aggreit togidder, he ſuld mak thame knaw "the lytill compt thay tuke of him (1); and that "he counſallit me not to purchas ſum of thame

"by

" by him (2). Thay for this caus wald be in
" jelosy (3), gif at anis (4), without thair know-
" ledge, I suld brek the play set up in the contrair
" in thair presence (5)."

" operam ut intelligerent quàm parvi eum æstimas-
" sent (1); item, quòd mihi consuluisset, ne gra-
" tiam quorundam seorsum a se expeterem (2).
" Has ob causas eos in magnâ suspicione futuros
" (3), si ego (4) faciem scenæ ad contrariam huic
" fabulam instructæ, in præsentiâ, eis insciis, tur-
" barem (5)."

" qu'il pourroit donner ordre, qu'ils entendroient
" combien peu ils l'avoient estimé (1). Item, de
" ce qu'il m'avoit conseillé, que je ne recerchasse
" la bonne grace d'aucuns sans luy (2). Et pour
" ces raisons qu'ils seroient en grand soupcon (3),
" si (4) je troubloye ainsi maintenant la face du
" theatre, qui avoit esté appresté pour joüer une
" autre fable (5)."

(1) Such threats, no doubt, Darnly had thrown
ut; and they would serve to hasten his fate. The
esign of the letter-writer in mentioning them
ems to be this, that Darnly's character should be
aised, as it stands opposed to the Queen's, but kept
own in its real state, as it sets itself against the
rds. And, as this was a very natural mode of
ting in a forgery made by those very lords, and
ems peculiarly apparent here; so will it account
r the great opening, which is here given us, into
e causes of the King's murder. Where two such
rposes were to be prosecuted at once, one of them

was sure to injure the other, and some truths to be betrayed betwixt them.

(2) This counsel was probably true also. But it could only have been true, just after the murder of Rizzio; when the Queen pardoned Murray, Glencairn, Rothes, &c. These she "purchased" over to her side, by a pardon for all their treasons, a permission to continue in the country notwithstanding their exile, and a re-instatement in offices of trust and authority about her. Accordingly, that gaunt and grim assassin Ruthven, in his own cool account of the murder of Rizzio, represents the King as declaring "to the Queen's majesty, that he had "sent for the lords to return again; whereunto she "answered, that she was not to blame that they "were so long away, for she could be content to "have them home at any time, *but for angring him*; "and to verify the same, when the Queen gave re-"mission to the Duke, *he was miscontented there-*"*with**." And the allusion in January 1567 to a fact that happened the March preceding, as if it had very recently happened, and was still a strong ground for jealousy, is a full proof of the forgery.—"Sum of thame," Scotch; "quorundam," Latin, for *quorundam de iis*; "d'aucuns," French. And the use of the word "by" appears very singular to us; "seorsum a se," Latin; "sans luy," French: but was common in the Scotch at that time†.

(3) "For this caus," Scotch; "has ob causas," Latin; "pour ces raisons," French: "in jelosy,"

* Keith, App. 125. † See Goodall, ii. 287, 315, 319.

Scotch;

Scotch; " in *magnâ* ſuſpicione," Latin; " en " *grand* ſoupcon," French.

(4) " At anis," Scotch, omitted in the Latin and French.

(5) " In thair preſence," Scotch; " in præſen- " tiâ," for *in eorum præſentiâ*, Latin; and ſo rendered, as *in preſentiâ* properly ſignifies, " mainte- " nant," French. " Without thair knowledge," Scotch; " eis inſciis," Latin; omitted in French. And " I ſuld brek the play ſet up in the contrair," Scotch, is very well tranſlated into Latin thus, " ego faciem ſcenæ ad contrariam huic fabulam in- " ſtructæ—turbarem;" and very cloſely copied by the French, " je troubloye la face du theatre—qui " avoit eſté appreſté pour joüer une autre fable."

This paſſage implies the King and Queen to have agreed at the meeting, that their reconciliation ſhould not be ſhewn to the world at preſent, for fear of incenſing the lords, Murray mentioned before, and others who were equally miniſters to Mary and enemies to Darnly. Yet ſuch an implication is contrary at once, to the truth of hiſtory, and to the general deſign of the author. Hiſtory ſhews the reconciliation to have taken place; and the moſt ſtriking proofs of it to have been given, in the Queen's offices of tenderneſs about him. And the deſign of the author is, to make thoſe offices appear all inſidious, the reſult of adultery, and the leaders to murder. Dr. Robertſon accordingly tells us, that " ſhe not only viſited " Henry, but by all her words and actions endea-

" voured to expreſs an *uncommon affection* for him." Yet all this was hypocriſy, he ſays. For " two [he " ſhould have ſaid, four] of her famous letters to " Bothwell were written during her ſtay at Glaſ- " gow, and fully lay open this ſcene of iniquity *." With ſuch groſs diſingenuity does the Doctor act, concerning the letters. When they contradict hiſtory, he does not follow them, but *he ſtill believes them to be genuine*. He ſhews he *obſerves* the contradiction. Yet he *retains his implicit faith in them*. His judgment is not warped. But his probity is corrupted.

XXVII.—" He ſaid, verray joyfully, And think " zow thay will eſteme zow the mair of that? " But I am verray glaid that ze ſpeik to me of the " lordis; for (1) I beleve at this tyme ze deſyre " that we ſuld leif togidder in quyetnes (2); for " gif it wer utherwyſe, greiter inconvenience " micht come to us baith than we ar war of (3): " bot now I will do quhat ever ze will do, and " will lufe all that ze lufe (4); and deſyris zow to " mak thame lufe in lyke manner: for, ſen thay " ſeik not my lyfe (5), I lufe tham all equallie. " Upon yis point (6), this"

XXVII.—" Tum ille vehementer lætus ſubjecit, " Et tu putas-ne quód pluris illi te æſtimabunt ob " hanc cauſam? Sed valdé gaudeo quód ſermonem

* Hiſt. i. 396—397.

" de

" de proceribus injeciſti ; nunc quidem (1) credo " te cupere, ut unâ concorditer vivamus (2) : nam " ni ita eſſet, majora quâm uterque timemus in- " commoda utrique poſſent evenire (3) : ſed nunc, " quod tu vis volo, et quod amabis amabo (4) ; et " cupio ut eorum ſimiliter concilies amorem : quia, " poſtquam non petunt vitam meam (5), omnes " amo ex æquo. Circa hoc caput (6),"

XXVII.—" Alors eſtant grandement joyeux, il " adjouſta, Et penſez-vous que pour cela ils vous " en eſtiment d'avantage ? Mais je ſuis bien aiſe " que vous avez fait mention des ſeigneurs ; main- " tenant (1) je croÿe, que vous deſirez que nous " vivions enſemblement en paix (2) : car s'il eſtoit " ainſi, beaucoup plus grandes faſcheries nous " pourroient advenir a tous deux, que nous ne " craignons (3) ; mais a preſent je veux ce que " vous voulez, et aimeray ce que vous aimerez (4) ; " et deſire que pareillement vous acqueriez leur " amitie : car puis qu'ils ne pourchaſſent a m'oſter " la vie (5), je les aime tous eſgalement. Tou- " chant ce chef (6), le"

(1) " For," Scotch ; " quidem," Latin ; omitted in French.

(2) This, ſo far as it intimates that the ſeparation of the King and Queen was occaſioned by her, and not by him, I have already ſhewn to be contrary to fact, and conſequently to be an evidence of the forgery. Dr. Robertſon alſo acknowledges,

that the ſeparation was occaſioned by his abſenting himſelf from court. He informs us, that "Henry "ſometimes attended at court *," that he and the Queen "paſſed two nights together †," that he "ſoon after took a reſolution, equally wild and deſ- "perate, of embarking on board a ſhip, which he "provided, and of flying into foreign parts ‡;" that he afterwards "refuſed to accompany the "Queen from Stirling to Edinburgh," and was "abſent from court §;" and that, in ſhort, "by his "folly and ingratitude he loſt the heart of a woman "who doated on him ‖." But let us particularly ſee his account of the King's behaviour, on his re- turn to court the 29th of September 1566. "He ar- "rived there," he adds, "on the ſame day ſhe re- "ceived the account of his intended flight. But he "was more than uſually wayward and peeviſh; and "ſcrupling to enter the palace, unleſs certain lords "who attended the Queen were diſmiſſed, Mary "was obliged to meet him without the gates. At "laſt he ſuffered her to conduct him into her own "apartment. She endeavoured to draw from him "the reaſons of the ſtrange reſolution which he had "taken, and to divert him from it. In ſpite, how- "ever, of all her arguments and intreaties, he re- "mained ſilent and inflexible. Next day the "privy council, by her direction, expoſtulated with "him on the ſame head. He perſiſted notwith- "ſtanding in his ſullenneſs and obſtinacy; and

* Hiſt. i. 372. † i. 373. ‡ i. 375.
§ Ibid. ‖ i. 400.

"neither

" neither deigned to explain the motives of his " conduct, nor ſignified any intention of altering it. " As he left the apartment, he turned towards the " Queen, and told her that ſhe ſhould not ſee his " face again for a long time *." This laſt account is *inſtar omnium*, in ſhewing to which ſide the ſeparation is to be attributed. The Doctor indeed has not done Mary full juſtice, becauſe he has ſuppreſſed *her taking him by the hand* in the council, *her double addreſs* to him, the *addreſs of the lords*, the *addreſs of the French embaſſadour*, the *declaration of Darnly* that he had had no reaſons given him for ſuch a reſolution, and *his inſtantly walking out of the council-chamber*; which are circumſtances of great moment in this tranſaction. His ſuppreſſion of theſe muſt reflect much upon his integrity, as an hiſtorian. But he has ſaid enough to convict Darnly, as the moſt unreaſonable of all unreaſonable huſbands. And his ſo plainly attributing the ſeparation to Darnly, when the letters attribute it to Mary; and yet his adherence to the authenticity of thoſe letters, when they contain acknowledged falſhoods; form one of thoſe glaring contrarieties of conduct, which are too common indeed in life, but which always denote the conflicts of principle with paſſion, and betray the ſhameful victories that the latter occaſionally obtains over the former.

(3) This tells us an important truth, which is plain upon the face of the hiſtory; that Murray and his accomplices took advantage of the King's

* i. 375—376.

fooliſh and froward behaviour to the Queen, and endeavoured to proſecute their own purpoſes by the aid of it.

(4) This implies, that the King *had* acted frowardly before, and ſo far is inconſiſtent with various paſſages preceding. That he had, let us be once more ſhewn, and from a new authority, and from one that was peculiarly hoſtile to Mary. "All "honour," ſays Randolph to Leiceſter, in a letter of July 30th 1565, the very day after the marriage, "that may be attributed unto any man by a "wife, he hath it wholly and fully. All praiſe that "may be ſpoken of him, he lacketh not from her-"ſelf. All dignities that ſhe can endow him with, "are already given and granted. No man pleaſ-"eth her that contenteth not him. And what "may I ſay more? She hath given over unto him "her whole will, to be ruled and guided as himſelf "beſt liketh." Yet, notwithſtanding all this kindneſs, "*ſhe can ſo much prevail with him in any "thing that is againſt his will*, as your lordſhip "may with me, *to perſwade that I ſhould hang my-"ſelf**."

"Quod amabis amabo," Latin, is intimated by Mr. Goodall †, and agreed to by Miſcellaneous Remarker ‡, to be the printer's or copier's error of *quod* for *quos*; and yet to have been followed, ſays

* Goodall, i. 222. and Robertſon, ii. 347.—This letter is dated "the laſt day of July;" but from the mention of "this "day, Monday," appears to have been written on the 30th.

† i. 96. ‡ P. 10.

the

the latter, "with his wonted ſervility" by the Frenchman, in his "j'aimeray *ce que* vous "aimerez." And the reaſon aſſigned for their opinion, is the immediate appearance of "eorum." But the obſervation is more nice than juſt. "I "will do *quhatever* ze will do, and lufe *all that* ze "lufe," Scotch, is naturally and properly rendered, "*Quod* tu vis volo, et *quod* amabis amabo," and "je veux *ce que* vous voulez, et aimeray *ce* "*que* vous aimerez." Nor does "eorum," Latin, and "leur," French, follow more ſtrangely afterwards, than "thame," Scotch. And it is the very impertinence of criticiſm, to think of reducing ſuch a compoſition as this to the preciſeſt rules of language.

(5) This forms one of the various hints in the letter, that ſome of Mary's miniſters were plotting againſt the life of Darnly. We are very ſure that this is true, by the legal proofs againſt Bothwell and Morton, and by that which is paramount to all legal proofs, the full and ſtrong voice of facts againſt Murray and Lethington. But how the letter-writer could be ſo abſurd as to mention it, is ſurprizing. Yet the truth *would* intrude upon him, it is plain from this and other inſtances, and mingle with his maſs of fiction. Thus, in the preſent letter, Mynto told him that ſome of the council had brought an order to Mary for her ſignature, to ſend Darnly to priſon, and to ſlay him if he made reſiſtance. Thus alſo he ſays afterwards, that Mary refuſed to ſubſcribe this order, and that, as to the others who wanted to purſue his life, he would

ſell

ſell it at a dear rate to them. Thus again, he intimates Murray to have told a great falſhood of him; and ſhe ſpeaks of the threats which he had thrown out againſt the lords, that, if ever he and ſhe became reconciled, he ſhould make them ſuffer for the ſlights which they had put upon him. And now he himſelf hints again, that they had been ſeeking his life. A train of plots had been formed againſt him by Murray probably, the engaging him in the murder of Rizzio, the plan of a divorce, the poiſon perhaps adminiſtered to him, and this order for his commitment, though never preſented to Mary. "O good pitiful men," ſays the Biſhop of Roſs, with a pointed ſneer at Murray and Murray's aſſociates, pretending to take up the cauſe of the murdered King, "who for the very tender love "and ſinguler affection, which you did ever beare "to the L. Darley (the which truly was ſo ve-"hement, that for your exceeding hot and fervent "love towards him, *ye ever ſought his hart's blood*), "do now ſo pitifully bewaile him*!"

(6) "Upon yis point," Scotch; "circa hoc ca-"put," Latin; "touchant ce chef," French.

"beirer will ſchaw zow mony ſmall thingis. Becaus "I have over mekle to wryte, and it is lait (1); I "give traiſt unto him upon zour word (2). Summa, "he will ga upon my word to all places (3).

* Defence, 25.

XXVIII.—

XXVIII.—" Alace! I never diſſavit ony body: " bot I remit me altogidder to zour will (4). Send " me advertiſement quhat I ſall do, and quhatſaever " thing ſall cum thairof, I ſall obey zow (5). Ad- " viſe tó with zourſelf, gif ze can find out ony " mair ſecret inventioun by medicine (6); for he " ſuld tak medicine"

" hic tabellarius multa minuta tibi declarabit; quia " nimis multa ſuperſunt ſcribenda, et jam ſerum " eſt (1). Huic adhibebis fidem juxta tuum ver- " bum (2). Breviter, meo juſſu quóvis ibit (3).

XXVIII.—" Hei mihi! nunquam quenquam " decepi; ſed ego me in univerſum tuæ voluntati " ſubjicio (4). Fac me certiorem quid faciam, et " quicunque ſequatur eventus, tibi obſequar (5). " Etiam tecum perpende, an comminiſci queas ali- " quam occultiorem rationem per medicinam (6);"

" porteur vous recitera pluſieurs particularitez; " d'autant qu'il y a trop de choſes qui reſtent a eſ- " crire, et qu'il eſt deſia tard (1): vous adjouſterez " foy ſelon voſtre parole (2). En ſomme, il ira ou " vous voudrez par mon commàndement (3)."

XXVIII.—" Helas! je n'ay jamais trompé per- " ſonne; mais je me ſubmets en toutes choſes a " voſtre volonté (4). Faictes moy ſçavoir ce que " je doy faire; et quoy qu'il en puiſſe advenir je " vous obeiray (5). Et penſez en vous meſme, ſi " pouvez trouver quelque moyen plus couvert que " par breuvage (6);"

(1). This

(1) This shews the second half of the letter to be written in the night of the second day after the arrival, January 25th.

(2) This is also one of the noted instances, by which Mr. Goodall discovered the unknown original of the letters in the disguise of a translation, that it had now worn unobserved for nearly two hundred years; and pointed it out decisively to the reason of all mankind. "Paris had been an old "servant to the Earl of Bothwell, and had lately "been taken into the Queen's service." She therefore says she trusted him upon the earl's recommendation. But Buchanan overlooking the pronoun of the first person, he necessarily translated the sentence, "huic adhibebis fidem juxta "tuum verbum;" and the French translator, having no other original but the Latin, followed it closely, "vous adjousterez foy selon vostre pa-"role*." This adds one more to the many instances that we have already had, of the wonderful negligence with which Buchanan made his translation. The same took place, no doubt, in forming the original Scotch. We have even seen some astonishing proofs of it, in the contradictoriness of parts to parts. And in this manner was cooked up that celebrated composition, which the faction and the folly of succeeding times was to raise into consequence, to exalt into authenticity, and to engraft upon the stock of history.

* Goodall, i. 89—90.

(3) "He

(3) "He will ga upon my word to all places," Scotch; "meo jussu quóvis ibit," Latin; and, "il "ira ou vous voudrez par mon commandement," French; the Frenchman mistaking "quóvis" for *quo vis*. This was another of Mr. Goodall's decisive proofs *."

(4) This is a third touch of remorse. But it is more ridiculous than either of the two before. It is shorter. It goes off sooner into iniquity again. And it acts in opposition to every principle of nature, in representing one, who is expressly declared to have "never dissavit ony body" before, as deceiving Darnly in the highest manner, as mounting at once to the very height of hypocrisy, as becoming by one exertion a very prodigy of malignity.

(5) What does this mean? Did not the Mary of the forgers know full well what she was to do, when she went to Glasgow? If she did not, why did the forgers write this letter? But this very letter shews, that she came to Glasgow in order to draw him to Edinborough. So the commissioners of York understood it, as I have noticed before; when they said in their account of it to Elizabeth, that "she toke her journey from Edinburghe to Glasco, to visite him [the King], being theare sicke, and *purposely of intent to bring him with her to Edenburghe.*" And this they notice, as they tell us themselves, "for the declaration of the conspiracie, and her procurement and consent to the murder of her said hus-

* i. 96—97.

"band."

"band *." But is not her *particular* intention very plain? It is. "I anſwerit," ſhe ſays, "that "I wald tak him with me to Cragmillar, quhair "the mediciner and I micht help him, and not be "far from my ſone." "Bot he hes prayit me," ſhe adds in another place, "to remane upon him "quhil uther morne." And in the next letter ſhe ſubjoins thus: "howbeit I have na farther newis "from zow, according to my COMMISSIOUN I bring "the man with me to Cragmillar upon Monoun-"day." She therefore had her commiſſion, before ſhe ſet out. And theſe repeated calls for directions are mere impertinence, the oſtenſible reaſons for writing the letter, but in direct contradiction to the deſign and contents of it.

(6) This is a very remarkable paſſage. It carries a murderous tendency in the very tone of it. And it is accordingly pointed out twice to Elizabeth, by her commiſſioners at York †. But how are we to underſtand it? The word *by* we have juſt ſeen to ſignify, not *with*, but *without*. Does it ſo ſignify here? The authority of Buchanan is, that it *does*, and—that it *does not*. This is extraordinary. From a *written* copy of his Detection, which is thought to be the very copy that he preſented to Elizabeth, he appears to have originally tranſlated the words, "occultiorem rationem *quàm* per medi-"cinam." The French remains accordingly at preſent, "moyen plus couvert *que* par breuvage." But he afterwards altered his verſion, leaving out

* Appendix, N° vi. † Ibid. N° vi. and vii.

the word *quàm*, and so making the whole to stand as it does now, "occultiorem rationem per medi-"cinam." He did this likewise in a passage of his Detection itself, in which he quoted the letters. And there he reasoned slanderously against Mary, upon the credit of his *new* version *.

This exhibits Buchanan to us in a singular view, correcting his own Latin version in the interval, betweeen writing out a copy for the eager curiosity of Elizabeth, and publishing it in print to the world. This also proves the French version to have been made, not from the printed copy, but from the MS; not after the publication of the Latin, but before, though the Latin was published about the end of October 1571, and the French in the middle of February afterwards †. I have historically proved the French copy, to have been formed long before the publication of either. But it here appears to have been so, from a slight incident in the language of it; even before the publication of the letters in any language, and when they were merely in MS, in the hands of Elizabeth, or in the hands of Murray. And the French translation was left, by this extraordinary double in the Latin, differing from it even where it had adhered to it; the corrected Latin here following Buchanan's closely, even when Buchanan himself had deserted it.

Which then are we to follow, the original, or the corrected, Buchanan? If we consider the words,

* Goodall, i. 326—327. Detection, xi. 51. Anderson, ii. and Jebb, i. 255. † Goodall, i. 37—38.

"ony

" ony mair ſecreit inventioun *by* medicine," to mean *without* medicine; then the paſſage muſt be ſuppoſed to intimate, that the King had been poiſoned already in ſome medicine, and that the next attempt ſhould be without the uſe of medicine, and in a way which would not ſhew itſelf ſo openly. But if we conſider the words as they ſound to *our* ears, then Bothwell is deſired to think of ſome mode of diſpatching the King, that ſhould be more ſecret than that of gun-powder, and that might be given him in his phyſic. Mr. Goodall adopts the former ſenſe; " for the words,—in the Scots " language in Buchanan's days, ſignified *without* " *medicine**." But the commiſſioners of England plainly took them in the latter †. Buchanan himſelf alſo, upon reviſal, took them in this view. And the context plainly confines them to this. " Adviſe " with zourſelf," it ſays, " gif ze can find out ony " mair ſecreit inventioun," than what had been already projected, " by medicine; FOR *he ſuld tak me-* " *dicine* and the bath at Cragmillar, he may not " cum furth of the houſe this long tyme."

But why was this hint concerning poiſoning him in his medicines thrown out? No calumny was ever ſtarted by the rebels, of Mary's attempting to poiſon him *poſteriorly to this period.* It was thrown out therefore, to give the ſtronger credit to their ſlander, of her *having poiſoned him before.* Yet it wholly refutes it. If poiſon was *now* to be tried by her and Bothwell, it had not been tried

* i. 326—327. † Appendix, N° vi. and vii.

before

before by them. And the paſſage preceding, that hints at his *having been* poiſoned by them, is as much oppoſed to this, which inſinuates that he *was to be* poiſoned; as it is to the other, which intimates that he was *not* poiſoned, but poxed. So ſtrangely contradictory is the letter to itſelf!

" and the bath at Cragmillar. He may not cum " furth of the hous this lang tyme (1)."

" ſumpturus eſt enim et medicinam et balneum ad " Cragmillarium. Non poteſt domo egredi ad mul- " tos dies (1)."

" car il doit prendre medicine et eſtre baigné à " Cragmillar. Il ne peut ſortir du logis d'icy a " pluſieurs jours (1)."

(1) The meaning of the words " he may not " cum furth of the hous this lang tyme," is this; hat the King cannot leave his confinement, and ingle with the world again, for a long time. But ne Frenchman, reſtraining the meaning to the King's houſe at Glaſgow, ſays he cannot leave *that*, d'icy," for a long time. He left *that* two days fterwards. But he was confined to his houſe at Kirk-a-field, for many afterwards.

This being noticed, let me here aſk, What was Mary's view, in the opinion of her ſlanderers, for ringing Darnly to Edinborough. The vulgar herd

herd have always ſuppoſed it to be, in order to murder him there. With this the letters agree. And murdered he certainly was, in a few days after ſhe brought him to Edinborough. But Dr. Robertſon has found out a better reaſon. It was *to prevent his going abroad*. "She was aſſured, that "he reſolved inſtantly to leave the kingdom; that "a veſſel was hired for the purpoſe, and lay in the "river Clyde ready to receive him, Keith, Pref. "viii." This "was what Mary *chiefly* dreaded.— "While he reſided at Glaſgow, he might with "more facility accompliſh his deſigns. In order, "therefore, to prevent his executing any ſuch wild "ſcheme, it was neceſſary to bring him to ſome "place, where he would be more immediately un- "der her own eye *." This is a paſſage aſtoniſhingly replete with folly. The deſign of going abroad, I have already ſhewn to have exiſted long before. The very author whom he cites for it, Keith, proves it plainly; though not in the place to which he refers, "Pref. viii." but in Hiſt. 345—351. The very intelligence referred to in Keith, was received by Mary ſo long ago as September 29th, very nearly FOUR months before. Nay Dr. Robertſon has even acquainted us with it before; telling us, that "ſoon after" Darnly's writing to the Pope, &c. "he took a reſolution equally wild "and deſperate, of embarking on board a ſhip, "*which he provided*, and of flying into *foreign* "parts †." This was in September. He had

* Hiſt. i. 398—399. † Ibid. 375.

therefore

therefore provided a ship in September. Had he also in January? He had, according to Dr. Robertson. Yet it is one and the same ship, provided at one and the same time; though the Dr. has so strangely split it into two. He refers to Keith for his January vessel. But this is the same vessel that was provided in September. "He communicated the design," says Dr. Robertson, "to the French embassador Le Croc, and to his father the Earl of Lenox.—Lenox instantly communicated the matter to her [the Queen] by a letter.—Henry arrived there [at court] on the same day she received the account *." This, Le Croc himself assures us, was on September 29th †. But the Dr. has, with more judgment than integrity, suppressed all the dates and some circumstances; particularly one which appeared from Lenox's letter, that *then* "he had a ship lying ready to sail," or, as the privy council expresses this part of the letter, "he had *just then* a ship lying ready;" in order to give himself the liberty, with a better air, of producing the intelligence again at a new period, and with a new gloss upon it. He has also suppressed another circumstance, or rather a train of circumstances, which equally appears in Le Croc's letter; that the latter had since seen the King, that he had used every argument which he could think of to dissuade him from his project, that now he believed the King would not go, and that he had acquainted the Queen with the whole ‡. This, if

* Hist. i. 375. † Keith, 346. ‡ Ibid. 347.

noticed, would have precluded his re-mention of the project and the ſhip; and was therefore kept under cover. He choſe to follow Buchanan and ſlander, even when he had Le Croc and the truth before him. Buchanan (as I have previouſly noticed) has juſt made the ſame anachroniſm, for *he* alſo has engrafted hiſtory upon the letters; and ſo brought down what happened in September, to the January following. "Ibi," at Holyrood-houſe, "cúm reſcitum eſſet," he ſays, "Regem convaleſ-"cere, ac vim veneni ætatis vigore et corporis "firmitate naturali ſuperatam, novum de eo tol-"lendo conſilium initur; cúm interea ad Reginam "delatum eſſet, Regem de fugâ in Galliam aut "Hiſpaniam cogitare, eâque de re cum Anglis, "qui navem in æſtuario Glottæ ſtantem habebant, "collocutum:—conſulunt omnes feſtinandum, an-"tequam plané convaleſceret*." This was plainly the authority, upon which Dr. Robertſon proceeded; though he formally refers to Keith. *That* coincides with him. *This* is directly againſt him. Only the Doctor has enhanced the wilful miſrepreſentation of Buchanan, by giving us the truth (in part at leaſt) before, and then giving us the falſhood afterwards. And he has alſo heightened the abſurdity of all, by aſſigning ſuch a boyiſh reaſon for Mary's drawing Darnly from Glaſgow, That he might not embark there.

On the 30th of September Darnly went out of the council-chamber, and told the Queen, that ſhe

* Hiſt. xviii. 350.

ſhould

ſhould not ſee his face again for a long time. After this, ſays the council, "by a letter which "the King has ſince wrote to the Queen in "a ſort of diſguiſed ſtile, it appears that he ſtill has "it in his head to leave the kingdom; and there "is advertiſement otherwiſe, that he is ſecretly "preparing to be gone*." Le Croc alſo adds thus: "he is not yet embarked; but *we* receive adver- "tiſement from day to day, that he ſtill holds on "his reſolution, and keeps a ſhip in readineſs." Yet all this time Mary never goes to *him* when he was gone from *her*; and never tries to bring him back to Edinborough, though he was then at Glaſgow, at that very port ſo formidable to Mary, and ſo cloſe to his ready-prepared veſſel. Then Darnly ſent to Le Croc to confer with him. "The King, "who had gone to Glaſgow," ſays Le Croc, "ſent "me word to come and meet him half way, betwixt "Liſlebourgh," Edinborough, "and Glaſgow. I "obeyed him, and found his father, the Earl of "Lenox, with him. We had much communing to- "gether; and I remonſtrated to him every thing that "I could think of: and now I believe he will not "go out of the kingdom, though I can perceive, "that he ſtill entertains ſome diſpleaſure †." Mary ſtill went not to him at Glaſgow, to draw him from thence. She even went another way, towards Berwick. And, while he was holding his confe- rence with Le Croc, ſhe was reſiding at Jed- borough.

* Keith, 349—350. † Ibid. 347.

I am surprized, however, at the representation of this wild project in all our historians. It is considered by them as a serious one. But it appears to me nothing more than a feint, a low act of cunning to extort the matrimonial crown from Mary, by the fear of his going abroad. Hence Lenox went to him at Stirling, *immediately on the Queen's short absence*. Hence he himself came back to Holy-rood-house, *the very evening* of the day on which she had received *his father's letter of intelligence concerning it*. Hence he would not, because he could not, tell her, either in private or in public, the *grounds* of his intended departure. Hence he went out of the council-chamber so abruptly in his manner, and with so rude a menace on his lips, that she should not see his face again for a long time. Hence he wrote the letter to her afterwards "in a sort of disguised stile," intimating his resolution to go. Hence she received advertisements from day to day, of his intending to go, and of his preparing to depart. And hence also, when he and his counselling father found that the Queen so little heeded his intentions, as never to attempt to stop him, to draw him from the port and the vessel, and to secure him "immediately under her own eye" at Edinborough; as even to leave him to the execution of his own devices; and even to give him still greater opportunity for it, by her still greater distance from him: then, then, his father and he sought a conference with Le Croc; he wanted to be dissuaded, from what he had never intended in earnest; and he suffered himself at last to be brought,

brought, apparently, very near to a conviction. Accordingly I find the whole privy-council of Scotland at the time, concurring with me in this idea; though it has been so little attended to by our historians. After a full narration of all that passed at the council-table, on September the 30th; they speak of the King's departure, and say, "so that "we were *all* of opinion, that this was but *a false* "*alarm* the Earl of Lenox was *willing* to give her "Majesty *."

Yet, more than three months after this, Buchanan and Dr. Robertson; and the latter with a spirit (I fear), that would have made him half a Buchanan in times less civilized, and less inquisitive, than the present; represent Darnly as still persisting in his project, and as persisting in it, even when he was reduced by sickness to the utmost extremity of weakness. And Dr. Robertson adds to all, by describing the Queen, who had never gone near the King from the day of his departure to Glasgow, September 30th, till nearly the end of January following; who had particularly not gone all the time, that she received *daily* intelligence of his preparing to embark; as now going, when she received no such intelligence at all; when she had been fully certified above three months before, that in all probability he had given up the design; when the length of time, elapsed since, had fully proved that he had; and when his super-added

* Keith, 349.

illneſs rendered it impoſſible for him to go, for ſome time to come. But it is hardly worth the labour, to diſcredit ſuch impertinencies as theſe. Only they ſerve to ſhew the impoſition that has been put upon the publick, when hiſtories, ſo little founded on truth, and ſo little conducted by judgment, have taken advantage of the factious madneſs of the times, and raiſed themſelves to an high degree of authority among us. Yet I ſhall juſt purſue the ſubject, to ſhew the Doctor equally contradicting himſelf and the letters at once.

He has already told us, that Mary drew Darnly from Glaſgow to Edinborough, to prevent him from embarking, and to keep him under her own eye. He tells us however in a few lines afterwards, that this was *not* the deſign in drawing him, that ſhe meant to *murder* him, and that for this purpoſe ſhe lodged him in a lonely houſe at his arrival. "In order to prevent his executing any ſuch "wild ſcheme, it was neceſſary to bring him to "ſome place where he would be more immediately "under her own eye. *For this purpoſe*, ſhe firſt "employed all her art to regain his confidence, and "then propoſed to remove him to the neighbour-"hood of Edinburgh.—The King was weak enough "to ſuffer himſelf to be perſuaded" [*not* diſſuaded from ſtaying at Glaſgow, and embarking on board a ſhip, as the chain of ideas requires us to ſuppoſe at firſt; but, from a new ſet of ideas that have here ſtarted up ſuddenly in the author's mind, perſuaded to go to Edinborough in order to be murdered]; "and was carried—to Edinburgh. The place pre-

"pared

" pared for his reception was" ſuch, as " the ſoli-
" tude of the place rendered—*extremely proper for*
" *the commiſſion of that crime*, WITH A VIEW TO
" WHICH IT SEEMS MANIFESTLY TO HAVE BEEN
" CHOSEN *." What was only an innocent and ridiculous purpoſe at firſt, that of preventing Darnly from embarking at Glaſgow, as if this was the only port in the kingdom, or as if he could not elope from Edinborough to Glaſgow again; becomes at laſt a ſerious and important plan of concerted murder. The tranſition from the one to the other is totally unmarked. And to our aſtoniſhment we find ourſelves engaged in a murderous project, when we thought we were only employed in preventing a voyage. So ſtrangely does the Doctor contradict himſelf! It is no wonder therefore, that he contradicts the letters. They, with as much conſiſtency as ſuch ſelf-repugnant writings can have, intimate the viſit to be for drawing Darnly to Edinborough, in order to be murdered. This is indeed the plan, upon which the Doctor himſelf has ultimately proceeded. But then the other plan, of preventing the embarkation by keeping him in her own eye, cannot be reconciled with this or with the letters. In theſe, as we have already ſeen, the King is even made expreſsly to deny, that he ever had any ſcheme of embarking. This undoubtedly is falſe in fact. But then this, and the general drift of the letters, concurring together, do doubly and trebly preclude in thoſe who believe

* i. 399.

the

the authenticity of the letters, all poſſibility of ſuppoſing, that Mary came to Glaſgow in order to prevent the ſcheme, and to hold him directly under her own inſpection. If the ſcheme never exiſted, it could not be prevented. If ſhe fetched him from Glaſgow in order to murder him, ſhe did not mean to confine him within the immediate ſphere of her own obſervance. And to Dr. Robertſon the argument is deciſive. Yet the good Doctor has ſhewn us in ſome inſtances before, and will perhaps ſhew us in others hereafter, how little he minds the letters at times, though he profeſſes his firm belief of their genuineneſs. He treats them, as Papiſts treat their legends. He reveres them in general as true. Yet he is obliged by the power of truth, to leave them at one time. He is induced by the ſolicitations of ſlander, to deſert them at another. He thus treats them repeatedly as falſe. And yet he ſtill believes them to be true.

§ III.

LETTER THE FIRST CONTINUED.

XXIX.—"Summa, be all that I can leirne, he 'is in greit ſuſpicioun (1), and zit, notwithſtand-'ing, he gevis credit to my word (2); but zit not 'ſa far that he will ſchaw ony thing to me (3): 'bot nevertheles I ſall draw it out of him, gif ze 'will that I avow all unto him (4). Bot I will never rejoyce to diſſaive ony body that traiſtis in me: zit, notwithſtanding, ze may command me in all thingis (5). Have na evill opinioun of me for that caus, be reſſoun ze ar the occaſion of it zourſelf; becaus, for my awin particular revenge, I wald not do it to him."

XXIX.—"Breviter, quantum intelligere poſ-'ſum, in magnâ ſuſpicione verſatur (1), nihilo 'tamen minús magnam habet fidem orationi 'meæ (2); nec tamen uſque adeo, ut quicquam 'mihi effutiat (3): nihilo minús ego ex eo, ſiqui-'dem tu vis, omnia apud eum profitear et agnoſ-'cam (4). Sed nunquam gaudebo in quovis ho-'mine, qui mihi fidit, decipiendo; nihilo minús tu 'mihi potes omnibus in rebus imperare (5). Noli 'ideo ſiniſtram opinionem de me concipere; quia 'tu ipſe hujus rei mihi author es; nunquam enim "iſtud

" iſtud in eum committerem, meæ propriæ ultionis
" cauſâ."

XXIX.—" Brief, à ce que j'en puis entendre, il
" eſt en grand ſoupcon (1) ; neantmoins il adjouſte
" beaucoup de foy a ma parole (2); mais non en-
" cores tant, qu'il n'en deſcouvre quelque choſe (3):
" toutesfois je confeſſeray et recongnoiſtra tout de-
" vant luy, ſi vous le trouvez bon (4). Mais ſi ne
" m'eſiouiray-je jamais a tromper celuy qui ſe fie en
" moy: neantmoins vous me pouvez commander en
" toutes choſes (5). Ne concevez donc point de
" moy aucune ſiniſtre opinion, puis que vous-
" meſmes eſtes cauſe de cela; car je ne le feroye ja-
" mais contre luy pour ma vengeance particuliere."

(1) The " *greit* ſuſpicioun" of this paſſage is directly contrary to another before, in which the King himſelf ſays, that " he ſuſpectit na body, nor " zit wald not."

(2) His " ſuſpicioun" cannot be " griet," when " he gevis credit to her word," " *magnam* fidem," ſays the Latin, and " *beaucoup* de foy," ſays the French.

(3) *He is in great ſuſpicion*, yet *he believes her word*, and yet *he will not ſhew her any thing*. Theſe are three clauſes, following ſucceſſively in order, and contradicting one the other.

(4) What did Mary want Darnly to ſhew her even upon the plan of the letters? *Nothing ſurely*. What then was ſhe to draw out of him? *Nothing ſurely*. And what is the *all*, that ſhe aſks Bothwell's leav-

leave to avow to him? *Nothing surely.*—"Draw "it out of him," Scotch; "ex eo," Latin, *exsculpam* or *expiscabor* being omitted by the pen or press; and all therefore being omitted by the French. This was one of Mr. Goodall's famous proofs *. "Avow," Scotch; "profitear et ag-"noscam," Latin; and "confesseray et recong-"noistray," French.

(5) These fits of remorse are so petty and so frequent, that they appear plainly to be *acted*.

XXX.—"He gives me sum chekis of yat quhilk I fear, zea, evin in the quick (1). He sayis this far, yat his faults wer publeist (2): bot yair is that committis faultis, that belevis thay will never be spokin of (3); and zit thay will speik of greit and small (4). As towart the Lady Reres (5), he said, I pray God that scho may serve zow for zour honour: and said, it is thocht,"

XXX.—"Interim me attingit in loco suspecto; idque ad vivum (1) hactenus proloquutus est, sua crimina esse palam (2): sed sunt qui majora committant, et opinantur ea silentio tegi (3); et tamen homines de magnis juxta ac parvis loquuntur (4). D. Reresia ait (5), Deum

* i. 97.

"precor,

" precor, ut officia quæ tibi præſtat ſint tibi ho-
" nori: ait etiam quoſdam credere,"

XXX.—" Cependant il m'a donné attainte du
" lieu ſuſpect; et a juſques icy diſcouru bien au
" vif (1), que ſes fautes ſont congneües (2):
" mais qu'il y en a qui en commettent de plus
" grandes, encores qu'ils eſtiment qu'elles ſoient
" cachées par ſilence (3); et toutesfois que les
" hommes parlent des grands auſſi bien que de
" petits (4). Quant a Reres (5), il dit, Je prie
" Dieu que les ſervices qu'elle vous fait, vous
" ſoient a honneur."

(1) This means the adultery. Concerning this, he gave her (ſhe ſays) ſome pointed ſtrokes. " For " certanetie," ſhe ſays almoſt immediately afterwards, " he ſuſpectis of the thing ze knaw," the adultery, " and of his lyfe: bot as to the *laſt*, " how ſone that I ſpak twa or thré gude wordis " unto him, he rejoyſis, and is out of dout." As to the adultery therefore, he ſtill ſuſpected; and ſo gave her ſome ſevere checks about it. Yet how is this to be reconciled with other paſſages? Had he ſuſpected the adultery; had he even ſo ſtrongly ſuſpected it, as to intimate his ſuſpicions to her, and touch her to the very quick about it; could he have been impoſed upon by her, as the whole tenour of the letter implies he was? Accordingly, Dr. Robertſon repreſents him as unſuſpecting and credulous. " This," her kindneſs, " made impreſ-
" ſion on the credulous ſpirit of her huſband."

She "firſt employed all her art to regain his con-"fidence, and then propoſed to remove him to the "neighbourhood of Edinburgh;" though the propoſal appears before, to have been made *the very evening of her arrival*, and *very early in the converſation then*. And "the King was weak enough to "ſuffer himſelf to be perſuaded *."—"Interim," Latin, and "cependant," French, are both added to the Scotch.

(2) The Latin not obſerving the full ſtop at "vivum," the French has altered the ſenſe materially. "Publeiſt," Scotch; "palam," Latin, inſtead of *publicata*; and ſo "congneües," French, inſtead of *publié*.

(3) "Is, committis, belevis," Scotch; "ſunt "qui committant, et opinantur," Latin; "commet-"tent, eſtiment," French. "Faultis," Scotch; "majora," Latin; and "plus grandes," French. "Never be ſpokin of," Scotch; "ſilentio tegi," Latin; and "cachées par ſilence," French.

(4) "Thay," Scotch; "homines," Latin; and "les hommes," French.

(5) The Latin leaves out *de* before "D. Rere-"ſia." But the French preſerves it, reading the initial letter for *Domina* into *de*, "quant a Reres," and ſo omitting *madamoiſelle*.

* i. 396 and 399.

"and

" and he belevis it to be trew, that I have not the
" power of myſelf into myſelf, and that becaus of
" the refuſe I maid of his offeris (1). Summa,
" for certanetie he ſuſpectis of the thing ze knaw,
" and of his lyfe (2). Bot as to the laſt, how ſone
" that I ſpak twa or thré gude wordis unto him,
" he rejoyſis, and is out of dout (3).

XXXI.—" I ſaw him not this evening for to end
" zour bracelet (4), to the quhilk I can get na
" lokkis (5). It is reddy to thame (6): and zit I
" feir that it will"

" ac ſe id verum exiſtimare, me non habere poteſ-
" tatem mei intra me, idque quia recuſaverim con-
" ditiones a ſe oblatas (1). Breviter, certum eſt
" quód de eo quod ſcis ſuſpicetur, ac de vitâ
" etiam (2). Quod ad poſterius, cûm primúm
" ego duobus aut tribus bonis verbis eum compello,
" gaudet, ac timere deſinit (3).

XXXI.—" Non vidi eum hâc veſperâ, quia tuam
" armillam conficiebam (4), cui nullam poſſum
" ceram invenire (5), id enim unum ad perfectio-
" nem ei deeſt (6); et adhuc vereor ne aliquod ſe
" offerat infortunium, et"

" Il dit auſſi, qu'il y en a qui croient, et que de ſa
" part il l'eſtime veritable, que je n'ay point en
" moy

" moy la puiſſance de moy-meſme, d'autant que " j'ay refuſé les conditions qu'il avoit offertes (1). " Brief, il eſt certain qu'il ſe doute de ce que ſca- " vez, et de ſa vie meſmes (2). Quant au reſte, " ſoudain que je luy propoſe deux ou trois bonnes " paroles, il ſe reſiouit, et n'a point de crainte (3).

XXXI.—" Je ne l'ay point veu ceſte apres- " diſnée, parce que je faiſoye voſtre braſſelet (4), " auquel je ne puis accomoder de la cire (5); " car c'eſt ce qui defaut a ſa perfection (6); et " encor je crain qu'il n'y ſurvienne quelque incon- " venient,"

(1) That he made no ſuch offers as are here hinted at, has been already ſhewn. Dr. Robertſon himſelf does not pretend that he did. And yet *the letters are genuine.*—" Offeris," Scotch; " conditiones oblatas," Latin; " conditions offertes," French.

(2) " *His* life," Scotch; " vitâ *etiam*," Latin; " *ſa* vie *meſmes*," French, from the corrected Latin.

(3) " Laſt," Scotch; " poſterius," Latin; " reſte," for *poſterieur*, French. " Dout," Scotch; " timere," Latin; " crainte," French.

(4) This aggravates the abſurdity of the letter, in the conduct of Mary. She is come to ſee the King in his ſickneſs, and to nurſe him. This is acknowledged by all to have been done by her. Dr. Robertſon ſays, that " ſhe not only viſited " Henry, but, by all her words and actions, endea-

" voured to expreſs an uncommon affection for " him *." Yet, *by the letters*, this is not true. She is employed a great part of her time in abſences from him. She is making a very long letter to her adulterer. She is making a pair of bracelets for him. She could not ſit up late with Darnly the firſt night, becauſe ſhe was tired with her journey. She could not the ſecond night, becauſe ſhe was writing to Bothwell. She could not the third night, becauſe ſhe was making bracelets for Bothwell. And ſhe ſpent all the morning of this day till two, in the ſame employ. So ridiculouſly has the letter engaged her, on this viſit to her ſick huſband; in order to give ſcope to its own ſlanders! —" Evening," Scotch; " veſpera," Latin; " apres- " diſnée," for *ſoir*, French.

(5) This is an amazing contradiction to a preceding paſſage, which runs thus: " I wrocht this " day quhill it was twa houris upon this bracelet, " for to put the key of it within the lock thairof, " quhilk is couplit underneth with twa cordounis; " I have had ſa lytill tyme, that it is evill maid." *Then* the bracelet was " maid," yet it is *now* to be " ended." *Then* it had a " key" and a " lock" to it, but *now* ſhe can get " na lokkis" for it. *Then* the " key of it" was " put within the lock " thairof," and " couplit underneth with twa cor- " dounis;" but *now* the bracelet is only " reddy to " thame." This is ſuch a groſs and maſſy contradiction, in ſo plain a point, and at ſo little a diſ-

* i. 396.

tance,

tance, as ſpeaks out loudly the infinite negligence of the author in this work of forgery.—" Lokkis," Scotch; " ceram," a miſ-print for *feram*, Latin; and yet followed implicitly by the French in " cire." This is one of the proofs, which Mr. Goodall uſed ſo ſucceſsfully for the inveſtigation of the true original *. And ſurely this and the other blunders of the French tranſlation, muſt have given a ſtrange appearance to that pretended original, at its exhibition to the commiſſioners in Weſtminſter.

(6) " It is reddy to thame," Scotch; " id enim " unum ad perfectionem ei deeſt," Latin; and " car c'eſt ce qui defaut a ſa perfection," French.

" bring ſome malheur, and may be ſene gif ze " chance to be hurt (1). Advertiſe me gif ze will " have it (2), and gif ze will have mair ſilver (3), " and quhen I ſall returne (4), and how far I may " ſpeik (5). He inragis when he heiris of Le- " thingtoun, or of zow, or of my brother (6). Of ' zour brother (7) he ſpeikis nathing. He ſpeikis ' of the Erle of Argyle (8). I am in feir quhen I ' heir him ſpeik; for he aſſuris himſelf yat he ' [Argyle] has not an evill opinioun "

' et conſpici poſſit, ſi te contingat lædi (1). Fac ' me certiorem num eam velis habere (2), et ſi

* i. 96.

" pluſculum pecuniæ velis habere (3), et quando
" debeam redire (4), et quem in loquendo modum
" mihi ſtatuam (5). Inſanit ad mentionem de Le-
" thintonio, de te, de fratre meo (6). De tuo
" fratre (7) nihil loquitur. De Comite Argathe-
" liæ (8) in timore verſor, quóties eum audio lo-
" quentem; pro certo habet"

" et qu'il ſoit recogneu, s'il advenoit que vous fuſ-
" ſiez bleſſé (1). Faictes moy entendre ſi vous le
" voulez avoir (2), et ſi avez affaire de quelque peu
" plus d'argent (3), et quand je doy retourner (4),
" et quel ordre je tiendray a parler a luy (5).
" Il enrage quand je fay mention de Lethington,
" de vous, et de mon frere (6). Il ne parle point
" de voſtre frere (7). Quant au Conte d'Ar-
" gathley (8), je ſuis en crainte, toutes les fois
" qu'il en deviſe;"

(1) When the letters were *firſt* projected, on the 24th of July 1567, hopes were entertained of ſeizing and ſlaying Bothwell immediately. On the 11th of Auguſt 1567, Sir William Murray of Tullibardin, and Sir William Kirkcaldy of Grange, were commiſſioned to purſue him by ſea and land, with fire and ſword *; though one of theſe very gentlemen, Kirkcaldy, on Mary's preparing to paſs with him to the rebels upon the fatal 15th of June before, " *tuik the Erle Boythwell be the hand*, and " *baid him depart*, promiſing *that na man ſhould*

* Keith, 442.

" *folow*

"*folow nor perſew him*; and ſwa by thair awin con-"ſent he paſt away *." *For the ſame reaſon* now, if Bothwell ſhould be taken alive, they had power to hold courts, to condemn, and to execute immediately. Well therefore might it be remarked in the Memoirs of Crawford, that "if Grange had "taken him, it is more than probable (leſt he had "betrayed his accomplices) that he had been ſa-"crified on the ſpot †." Then this pair of bracelets, *ſo particularly deſcribed in the letter*, would *have been produced as found upon him*. And this alluſion to the expected fact, at once evinces the general forgery of the letters, and ſhews the preſent part of them to have been forged in the original moments of projection. Lethington ſat down, it ſeems, while the new ideas were ſhooting ſtrong in his mind; and ſketched out ſome parts of the letters immediately. Theſe ſketches he naturally laid before him, when he entered upon the completion of the work in the winter following. And he as naturally incorporated them all into it; and, in the hurry and negligence with which the whole was finiſhed, inſerted this temporary expectation along with the reſt.

(2) Here is another contradiction concerning his ill-fated bracelet. Mary now aſks Bothwell, *if he will have it*. She had previouſly informed him, that ſhe ſhould ſend it to him by the bearer of the letter. "I wrocht this day, quhill it was twa houris

* Goodall, ii. 164—165. † Crawford, 54.

"upon *this* bracelet:—I have had ſa lytill tyme "that it is evill maid; bot *I ſall mak ane fairer*. In "THE MEANE TIME," &c. All this plainly implies her to ſend it with the letter. Yet now, before ſhe cloſes the letter, ſhe directly contradicts herſelf, and aſks him if ſhe ſhall ſend it. And the hint concerning the "evil making" was thrown in plainly, to account for the inelegance of the work from ſo elegant a workwoman as Mary, when the bracelet ſhould come to be produced. We have the ſame hint, and with the ſame view, concerning the penmanſhip of the letters.

(3) This implies that ſhe had given Bothwell ſome money before. Accordingly Paris is made to ſwear, that on the road betwixt Kalendar and Glaſgow, and conſequently on January 23d, ſhe ſent Bothwell a purſe with three or four hundred crowns in it*. It has been aſked, why ſhe did not give it to Bothwell himſelf, who left her at Kalendar only that very day†. For this plain reaſon, that *Paris might carry and tell of it afterwards*. But having given him three or four hundred crowns on the 23d, would ſhe aſk him on the 25th if he wanted more? She certainly would not! With ſuch profuſion, Mary's treaſury would have been drained to the bottom, in a few days only.—"Silver," Scotch; "pecuniæ," Latin; "argent," French. This concurs with other inſtances to ſhew, that many coincidences between the French and the Scotch are

* Goodall, ii. 76. † Keith, 366, and Tytler, 138—139.

purely

purely casual, the result of a similarity between the two languages.

(4) But the return was already fixed. "The "King," she says before, "hes prayit me to re- "mane upon him quhil uther morne." And at "uther morne," or on January the 27th, she actually set out. But, even if this had not been the case, what *could* Bothwell advise about the day of her return?

(5) Concerning *what* does she want to know how far she may speak? This is like her desire to know, whether she might "avow all" to Bothwell. A mysterious air is thrown round some undiscernible points, in order to lend a consequence to nothing.—"How far I may speik," Scotch; "quem in loquendo modum mihi statuam," Latin; "quel ordre je tiendray a parler a luy," French.

(6) "Or," Scotch, omitted in Latin; "et," French, from the corrected Latin. But this shews plainly, who the lords were that he considered as hostile to him. Murray he has even noticed before, as an enemy.

(7) This means Huntley, whose sister had been married to Bothwell.

(8) The Latin omitting by accident one word, "De Comite Argatheliæ [loquitur];" the French omits it too, and the two clauses are run into each other in both. "Argatheliæ," Latin; "Argathley," French, for "Argyle."

" of him. He ſpeikis nathing of thame that is " out (1), nouther gude nor evill, bot fleis yat " point (2). His father keipis his chalmer (2), I " have not ſene him.

XXXII.—" All the Hammiltounis are heir, " that accompanyis me verray honorabilly. All " the friendis of the uther [the King] convoyis me, " quhen I gang to ſé him. He deſyris me to cum, " and ſé him ryſe the morne betyme (3). For to " mak ſchort, this beirer will tell zow the reſt. " And gif I leirne ony thing heir, I will mak zow " memoriall at evin (3). He will tell zow the oc- " caſioun of my remaning (4). Burne this letter, " for it is ovir dangerous (5), and nathing weill " ſaid in it (6); for I am thinking upon nathing " bot faſcherie. Gif ze be in Edinburgh "

" eum nihil de ſe malé opinari. De eis qui extra " ſunt (1) nihil, neque boni neque mali, loquitur, " ſed ſemper hunc locum vitat (2). Pater ejus " domi (2) ſe continet, nondum enim [eum] " vidi.

XXXII.—" Omnes Hamiltonii híc adſunt, et " me comitantur valdé honorificé. Alterius om- " nes amici me comitantur quoties eum viſo. Petit " a me ut cras tempori adſim, ut eum ſurgentem " videam (3). Ut paucis abſolvam, híc tabella- " rius reliqua tibi narrabit. Si quid novi híc diſ-

" cam,

" cam, veſperi (3) faciam commentarium. Ille " tibi explicabit meæ moræ cauſam (4). Crema " has literas, ſunt enim periculoſæ (5), nec quic- " quam bene in eis dictum (6); ego enim nihil " cogito niſi moleſtias. Si fueris Edinburgi cúm"

" Il s'aſſeure qu'il ne penſe point de mal de luy. " Quant a ceux qui ſont de dehors (1), il n'en " parle ny en bien ny en mal, ſeulement il a evité " tousjours ce lieu (2). Son pere ſe tient tous- " jours au logis (2), et ne l'ay point encores veu."

XXXII.—" Tous les Hambletons ſont icy, qui " me font compagnie aſſez honorable. Tous les " amis de l'autre me ſuivent lorſque je le viſite. " Il me prie, que je voye demain (3) aſſez a temps " pour le voir lever. Afin que le face court, ce por- " teur vous dira le ſurplus. Si j'appren icy " quelque choſe le ſoir (3), je le mettray en me- " moire. Il vous declarera la cauſe de mon re- " tardement (4). Bruſlez ces lettres, car elles ſont " dangereuſes (5), et s'il n'y a rien qui ſoit bien " couché; je ne penſe que choſes faſcheuſes (6). Si " vous eſtes a Edinbourg "

(1) " Thame that is out," means the men that had been baniſhed the kingdom, for their ſhare in the murder of Rizzio the March before. So Ruthven calls Murray and his aſſociates in exile, " the " lords which were fugitive *." So Buchanan, with a nearer approach to the language of the

* Keith, 332.

letter,

letter, ſtiles them the lords that were abſent, "nobi-"litas quæ aberat*;" and, with an approach ſtill nearer in another place, denominates them thoſe that are abſent, "abſentibus †." So likewiſe the Earl of Bedford, in a letter of Auguſt the 3d 1566, ſpeaks of ſome of theſe very rebels in the letter, as thoſe "who were *abroad* with Morton ‡." And this ſerves, as almoſt every alluſion to known facts has hitherto ſerved, to detect the forgery. With ſo careleſs a hand was this idol of Dr. Robertſon's put together. The baniſhed conſpirators had been pardoned and reſtored, a little while *before* the period of this letter. Upon Chriſtmas Eve preceding, the Queen had granted a pardon to the Earl of Morton and ſeventy-five of his accomplices, for that horrible fact §. But the forger, writing the letters in the November and December afterwards, with his uſual careleſſneſs confided in his memory, and was deceived by it.

(2) "Fleis yat point," Scotch; "*ſemper* hunc "locum vitat," Latin; "il a evité *tousjours* ce "lieu," French. "Chalmer," Scotch; "domi," Latin; "logis," French.

(3) This means the morning and evening of the next day, January 26th.

(4) This is another of the myſterious involutions of nothing, ſo frequent in this letter. The

* Hiſt. xvii. 344. † Ibid. 345. ‡ Goodall, i. 305. § Ibid. i. 321, Robertſon, ii. 434, Keith, 429, Pref. xi. and Melville, 76 and 77.

reaſon

reaſon of her ſtay, as ſhe has told us already, was the King's deſire. And the reaſon of his deſire muſt have been his weakneſs of body.

(5) What a ridiculous precaution to Bothwell, when ſhe ſends this very letter, "ovir dangerous" as it is, *unſealed*, by the hands of Paris!

(6) This is thrown in to account for Mary, the accompliſhed and the lively Mary, writing ſuch a dull and ſtupid ſardle of folly, under the name of a love-letter. And Buchanan has inflamed the abſurdity of the precaution, by aſſerting it to have been given in almoſt every one of the letters, "Pene in ſingulis ſcriptum erat," he ſays, either wildly inattentive to the letters, or boldly daring to foiſt any thing into them, "ut lectæ ſtatim crementur *."

"at the reſſait of it (1), ſend me word ſone.

XXXIII.—"Be not offendit, for I gif not ovir "greit credite (2). Now ſeing to obey zow, my "deir lufe, I ſpair nouther honour, conſcience, ha"ſarde, nor greitnes quhatſumevir (3); tak it, I "pray zow, in gude part, and not efter the inter"pretatioun of zour fals gude-brother (4), to "quhome, I pray zow, gif na credite aganis the "maiſt faithful luifer that evir ze had, or ever ſall "have.

* Hiſt. xviii. 364.

XXXIV.—

XXXIV.—" Sé not hir, quhais fenzeit teiris ſuld " not be ſa mekle praiſit nor eſtemit, as the trew and " faithful travellis (5) quhilk I ſuſtene for to merite " hir place. For obtening of the quhilk, aganis " my natural I betrayis thame that may impeſche " me (6). God forgive me, and God give zow, " my only lufe, the hap and proſperitie (7) " quhilk zour humble and faithful lufe deſyris " unto zow, quha hopis to be ſchortly ane uther " thing to zow (8), for the reward of my irkſum " travellis."

" cúm has accipies (1), fac me certiorem.

XXXIII.—" Noli offendi, quia non nimium " fido (2). Nunc poſtquam ob ſtudium tibi obſc- " quendi, mi chare amice, neque honori, neque " conſcientiæ, nec periculis, neque quantævis mag- " nitudini parco (3); rogo in bonam partem acci- " pias, ac non juxta interpretationem fallacis fra- " tris uxoris tuæ (4), cui rogo nullam adhibeas fi- " dem adverſus fideliſſimam omnium quas aut ha- " buiſti, aut habebis, amicam.

XXXIV.—" Noli eam intueri, cujus fictæ la- " chrymæ non debent tanti eſſe, quanti fidi la- " bores (5) quos ego perfero, ut merear in ejus " locum ſuccedere; quem ut obtineam, ego eos " prodo, idque adverſus ingenium meum, qui im- " pedimento eſſe poſſent (6). Deus mihi det ve- " niam, et Deus tibi det, mi unice amice, eum ſuc- " ceſſum, et felicitatem (7), quam tua humilis et

" fidelis

" fidelis amica tibi optat, quæ brevi ſperat aliud
" de te in (8) præmium mei moleſti laboris."

" quand vous recevrez ces lettres (1), faictes le
" moy ſcavoir.

XXXIII.—" Ne vous offenſez point, ſi je [ne]
" me fie par trop (2). Maintenant donc, mon cher
" amy, puis que pour vous complaire je n'eſpargne
" ny mon honneur, ny ma conſcience, ny les dan-
" gers, ny meſmes ma grandeur quelle qu'elle
" puiſſe eſtre (3); je vous prie, que vous le pre-
" niez en la bonne part, et non ſelon l'interpreta-
" tion du faux frere de voſtre femme (4), auquel
" je vous prie auſſi n'adjouſter aucune foy contre
" la plus fidele amye, que vous avez euë, ou que
" vous aurez jamais.

XXXIV.—" Ne regardez point a celle, de la-
" quelle les feinctes larmes ne vous doivent eſtre de
" ſi grand poix, que les fideles travaux (5) que je
" ſouffre, afin que je puiſſe meriter de parvenir en
" ſon lieu. Pour lequel obtenir, je trahi, voire con-
" tre mon naturel, ceux qui m'y pourroient empeſ-
" cher (6). Dieu me le vueille pardonner, et vous
" doint, mon amy unique, tel ſuccez et feli-
" cité (7), que voſtre humble et fidele amye le
" ſouhaitte, laquelle eſpere en brief autre recom-
" penſe de vous, pour ce mien facheux labeur."

(1) But how *could* he be in Edinborough at the eceipt of this letter, when he appears from the rebel

rebel journal itſelf, to have left Edinborough on the evening of January 24th, and not to have returned *towards* it till January 28th *.

(2) " *For* I give not ovir greit credite," Scotch; " quia non nimium fido," Latin, very erroneouſly; and ſtill more erroneouſly, " *ſi je me fie* par " trop," French. I have added the loſt negative.

(3) The French here has added " mon, ma, " les," and " meſmes," to the text.

(4) Huntly; called here in French, by a literal tranſlation from the Latin, " frere de voſtre " femme," but hereafter, with more preciſion, " beau-frere."

(5) " Sa mekle praiſit nor eſtemit," Scotch; " tanti," Latin; " ſi grand poix," French. " Trew " and faithful," Scotch; " fidi," Latin; " fideles," French.

(6) " Natural" and " impeſche me," Scotch; " ingenium " and " impedimento," Latin; " na- " turel " and " me impeſcher," French.

(7) " Hap and proſperitie," Scotch; " ſucceſ- " ſum et felicitatem," Latin; " ſuccez et felicité," French.

(8) " Hopis to be—ane uther thing to zow," Scotch; " ſperat aliud de te in præmium," Latin; " and eſpere—autre recompenſe de vous," French.

* Appendix, No. x.

XXXV.—

XXXV.—" It is lait (1); I desyre never to " ceis fra wryting unto zow; zit now, after the kis- " sing of zour handis, I will end my letter. Ex- " cuse my evill wryting (2), and reid it twyse over. " Excuse that thing that is scriblit, for I had na " paper zisterday quhen I wrait that of the memo- " riall (3). Remember upon zour lufe, and wryte " unto hir, and that verray oft (4). Lufe me as I " sall do zow."

XXXV.—" Serum est (1); tamen nunquam " cupio cessare a scribendo ad te; tamen nunc, " post oscula manuum tuarum, finem meis literis " imponam. Excusa meam in pingendo imperi- " tiam (2), easque relege. Excusa cursionem cha- " racterum, quia heri chartam non habebam, cúm " id quod in commentario erat scriberem (3). Re- " miniscere tuæ amicæ, ac sæpe ad eam rescribe (4). " Redama me, uti ego te amabo."

XXXV.—" Il est tard (1); neantmoins je ne " desire jamais cesser de vous escrire; et toustes- " fois, apres vous avoir baisé les mains, je feray fin " a mes lettres. Excusez mon ignorance a escrire " (2), et relisez mes lettres. Excusez la brief- " ueté des characteres, car hier je n'avoye point de " papier, quand j'escrivi ce qui est au memoire (3). " Ayez souvenance de vostre amye, et luy rescri " uez souvent (4). Aimez moy, comme je vous " aime."

(1) This

(1) This shews the second half of the letter to be pretendedly written in the night of the second day, as the first pretends to have been in that of the first day.

(2) This is thrown in a second time, to account more strongly for the dissimilarity of the forger's writing to Mary's.—"Evill wryting," Scotch; "in "pingendo imperitiam," Latin; "ignorance a "escrire," French.

(3) This whole clause shews "the memoriall" or *memorandums* about the middle of the letter, to have been written "zisterday," or the day before the second half of the letter was; and to have been written in a particular manner, because her paper failed, as she actually mentions at the time that it was failing. And it concurs with that mention to prove, that the first half of the letter terminates with those memorandums.—"Erat," Latin, wrong; and "est," French, right, from the corrected Latin.

But there is another point to be considered here. That "the memoriall" means the *memorandums* preceding, is plain from what I have just noticed, and from the use of the word *memorial* before in the same sense. "Gif I leirne ony thing heir," she says, "I will mak zow *memoriall* at evin." These *memorandums* were written, it appears, "scriblit," Scotch; "cursione characterum," Latin; "brief-"ueté des characteres," French; or in words shortened and abbreviated, *because* her paper begun to fail. Yet *are* the *memorandums* in contracted terms at present? No! They are not, in the Scotch.

Scotch *. They are not, in the Latin †. They are not, in the French ‡. They are at full length in all. They are even at more than full length. Each *memorandum* makes a distinct paragraph in all. So different are the copies at present, from what the originals pretend to have been!

(4) "*Verray* oft," Scotch; "sæpe," Latin; "souvent," French. But how *could* Bothwell write to her either "oft," or "verray oft?" This letter could not be dispatched till the next morning, and could not reach Edinborough before the day afterward. And that day, as she has told us already and will tell us again, she intends to set out, and actually does set out. The words are plainly thrown in from a wanton imitation of a real love-letter, without considering the particular circumstances of the case. But they serve usefully at present, to expose the absurdity of these fictitious epistles. And they add one more to the many proofs which we have noticed already, concerning that absurdity.

XXXVI.—"Remember zow of the purpois
of the Lady Reres (1).
"Of the Inglismen (2).
"Of his Mother (3).

* See Anderson, ii. 138. Goodall, ii. 16—17.
† See Jebb, i. 273, and
‡ See Jebb, i. 337, and Good-, ibid.

" Of the Erle of Argyle (4).
" Of the Erle of Bothwell (5).
" Of the ludgeing in Edinburgh (6)."

XXXVI.—" Reminiſcere ſermonis de Rere-
" ſiâ (1).
" De Anglis (2).
" De Matre ejus (3).
" De Comite Argatheliæ (4).
" De Comite Bothueliæ (5).
" De hoſpitio Edinburgi (6)."

XXXVI.—" Et ayez memoire du propos Ma-
" damoiſelle Reres (1).
" Des Anglois (2).
" De ſa Mere (3).
" Du Conte d'Arghley (4).
" Du Conte de Bothwel (5).
" Du logis d'Edimbourg (6)."

(1) This relates to the immediately preceding half of the letter, in which Lady Reres is mentioned. " *Lady* Reres," Scotch; " Rereſiâ," Latin; " Madamoiſelle Reres," French, from the corrected Latin.

(2) This relates both to the firſt and the ſecond half of the letter, in both which the deſign of embarking on board an Engliſh veſſel is mentioned.

(3) This refers to neither the firſt nor the ſecond half. The Counteſs of Lenox, mother to the King is noticed in neither.

(4) Th

(4) This Earl is ſpoken of in the ſecond half. "Argyle," Scotch; "Argathelia" again, Latin; "Arghley," a miſ-print for "Argathley," French.

(5) In the former volume I have marked the ſtrangeneſs of mentioning Bothwell as a third perſon, when the letter is ſuppoſed to be addreſſed to him. Nor does the ſtrangeneſs conſiſt merely in the form. It is equally in the ſubſtance. The Earl of Bothwell is deſired to remember about — the Earl of Bothwell. This is ſo excentric and unnatural in itſelf, as could never come from the pen of Mary. And the forger appears from this ſtroke, as I have previouſly obſerved, to have originally addreſſed the letter to ſome perſon different from Bothwell, and to have left the ſtroke unaltered when he altered the addreſs.

(6) How ſtrongly does *this* ſet of *memorandums* prove the abſurdity of Dr. Robertſon's and Mr. Hume's reſpective hypotheſes, concerning the preceding! *Theſe* cannot be hints for the *ſubſequent* parts of her letter, becauſe they are abſolutely at the end of the whole. *Theſe* cannot be the contents of the letter *preceding*, becauſe they refer to ſome points which are not in the letter at all; that concerning his mother, and this concerning the lodging at Edinborough.

But how comes the latter point to be mentioned? The King by this letter is to go to Cragmillar, not Edinborough. By the next alſo he is. How comes then a hint to intrude here, about his lodgings at Kirk-a-field; for thoſe are plainly meant?

From this circumſtance only. The rebel journal ſhews the letter originally to have carried the King, by Kalendar and Linlithgow to Kirk-a-field. This route was afterwards changed into another for Cragmillar. But a ſolitary reference to the original route, was accidentally forgotten to be altered. It had been originally anſwered by this paſſage of the journal: "Bothwell this 24th day [of Ja-"nuary] wes found verray tymus weſeing the "Kyng's *ludging*, that *wes in preparing for him* *." And it ſtill remains at the tail of the whole, to confirm the account of the journal, to betray the alteration made in the letter, and to demonſtrate the forgery in the cleareſt manner.

* Appendix, N° x.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER THE THIRD.

§ I.

LETTER THE SECOND (1).

I.—" It appeiris, that with zour abſence thair is " alſwa joynit forzetfulnes, ſeand yat at zour de- " parting ze promyſit to mak me advertiſement of " zour newis from tyme to tyme (2). The wait- " ting upon yame ziſterday (3), cauſit me to be al- " maiſt in ſic joy as I will be at zour returning, " quhilk ze have delayit langer then zour promeis " was (4)."

I.—" Videtur cum tuâ abſentiâ conjuncta eſſe " obliviſcentia, præſertim cúm in tuo diſceſſu pro- " miſeris, quód me certiorem faceres, ſi quid inci- " diſſet novi, per ſingula propé momenta (2). " Eorum exſpectatio (3) propemodum in tantam " lætitiam me conjecit, quam [quantam] in tuo re- ditu ſim acceptura, quem diſtuliſti ultra quám promiſeras (4)."

I.—" Il ſemble, qu'avec voſtre abſence ſoit joinct l'oubly, veu qu'au partir vous me pro-

" miſtes de vos nouvelles, et toutesfois je n'en puis " apprendre (2); de quoy l'eſperance (3) m'a " quaſi jetté en auſſi grande joye, que celle que je " doy recevoir a voſtre venue, laquel vous avez " differée plus que ne m'aviez promis (4)."

(1) *When* this letter pretends to be written, will appear hereafter. But it may be proper to remark, at preſent, that, plainly as this ſhews itſelf to be one in ſucceſſion to another, yet it was publiſhed in Buchanan's Engliſh Detection, as the firſt of all *. The title of it ran thus; " ane letter writtin " be hir from Glaſgow to Bothwell, proving hir " hait to hir huſband, and ſum ſuſpiciounis of " practiſing his deith, quhilk letter was writtin in " French, and heir enſewis tranſlatit worde for " worde." Then comes the firſt letter, which is ſo apparently the firſt from the contents of it, publiſhed as the ſecond, and with this title to it, " ane " *uther* letter to Bothwell, concerning the hait of " hir huſband, and practice of his murther †." The eighth letter is put third, with this inſcription to it, " ane letter to Bothwell concerning certane takinis " that ſcho ſent him ‡." The third ſucceeds in the fourth place, called " ane uther letter to Bothwell, " of hir luſe to him §." And then we have the real fourth. So negligently are they arranged, even under the eye of Buchanan himſelf! Yet the three firſt were arranged in their natural order, by the

* Anderſon, ii. 129. † Ibid. 131. ‡ Ibid. 144.
§ Ibid. 147.

Latin

Latin edition of them. And the ſeven firſt were equally arranged ſo, by the French.

(2) This it was impoſſible for Bothwell to have done. He left her at Kalendar on January 23d, and returned to Edinborough. The next day in the evening, he ſet out for Lydiſdale. And on January 28th, and not before, he ſet out from Lydiſdale on his return *. He was gone therefore in the evening of January 24th, when ſhe wrote the former half of her letter preceding. He was abſent in the evening of January 25th, when ſhe wrote the latter half. He was abſent, when ſhe wrote the preſent and the two next letters. They were all written, ſays the journal, on the 24th—26th of January. "24. The Quene remaynit at Glaſcow, "lyck as ſhe did the 25th and the 26th,—and in "this tyme wrayt hir BYLLE [the former letter] "and uther letteris to Bothwell." Nor let it be ſuſpected, that his departure from Edinborough was ſudden, unexpected by himſelf, and unknown to the Queen. She peculiarly knew of it. This appears from ſeveral ſtrokes in the very letters themſelves. Thus in the preceding ſhe ſays; "gif ze "be in Edinburgh at the reſſait of it," her letter, "ſend me word, &c." Thus alſo in the preſent ſhe wants to know what ſhe ſhall do, "in cace ze "be not RETURNIT quhen I am cum thair," to Edinborough. This is a plain intimation concerning his journey to Lydiſdale. But ſoon afterwards

* Appendix, N° x.

ſhe ſpeaks of it in direct terms. "I pray zow," ſhe ſays, "to ſend me gude newis of zour voy-"age." She therefore knew of his "voyage" or journey. She was doubtful, whether he would be returned from it or not, by the time of her arrival in Edinborough. And ſhe was previouſly doubtful, whether he could be at Edinborough at the coming of her letter. He therefore could *not* have promiſed her, and ſhe could *not* have expected him, "to mak her advertiſement of his newis from tyme "to tyme." Hence alſo ſhe could not have charged him now with forgetfulneſs. Thoſe repeated addreſſes too, which we have ſeen before and ſhall ſee hereafter, in which Mary requires advice and requeſts intelligence from him, are as impoſſible to have been made, as I have previouſly ſhewn them to be abſurd in the making. And all concur to make Murray's letters, for the twentieth time, betray his and their own villainy.

Stat contra dicitque tibi tua pagina, FURES.

The Latin here is very ſtrange. It interpolates "præſertim," but is not followed by the French. "Zour newis" it renders "ſi quid incidiſſet novi," in oppoſition to the whole tenor of the ſentence. And "from tyme to tyme" it tranſlates, in oppoſition to itſelf, "per ſingula propé momenta;" as if ſomething new was to befall him, nearly every moment. For this reaſon perhaps, the French drops the laſt intimation entirely, and then gives us theſe words, "et toutesfois je n'en puis apprendre." Yet this is one of the three ſentences, which Doctor Robertſon, fighting in the very breach for his aſ-

ſaulted

faulted hypotheſis, fondly fancied to be the laſt viſible remains of the real original in French, and to have a "ſpirit" and an "elegance" in them, which neither the Scotch, the Latin, nor the preſent French, have attained *. The *proof* for this paſſage is—what? That it has the words "et toutesfois je "n'en puis apprendre" in it, when neither the Latin nor the Scotch have them; and, as ought to have been added, that it leaves out the words "from tyme to tyme," which both the others have. And, if there is a "ſpirit" and an "elegance" in the interpolation, there muſt be a double "ſpirit" and a double "elegance" in the ſuppreſſion. But indeed the clauſe, "et toutesfois je n'en puis ap-"prendre," is not properly an addition at all. It is merely a blundering tranſlation of a clauſe in the Latin. It was intended by the Frenchman, to anſwer ſome words which he did not underſtand. For 'promiſeris—ſi quid incidiſſet novi," we have 'promiſtes de vos nouvelles;" and for "quod me 'certiorem faceres," we have "et toutesfois je n'en 'puis apprendre." He underſtood not the latter. He gueſſed at the meaning. He was unhappy in his gueſs. And by ſupplying the negative which he thought to be wanting, and ſhaping the whole to his own conceptions, he produced the preſent ſentence.

(3) "Ziſterday," an important note of time ſtrangely omitted in Latin and in French, could

* Diſſ. 32 and 34.

not

not be the day in which she wrote the second half of her letter, because of the joy which she says she felt in expecting a letter from him. Had she *then* been in this expectation and this joy, it would have appeared in what she then wrote. "Zis-"terday" therefore was the day afterward, or January 26. And consequently the day, on which she wrote this, was January 27. Accordingly in this very letter she says thus; "gif Paris bringis me "that quhilk I send him for, I traist it sall amend "me." If "send" here means the present time, she sent him off the morning after she had finished *the letter*, and this must then be January 26th. But if it means the past, as it stands equally for our *send* and *sent*; then it refers to what she had done the morning before, and this must then be the 27th. And that it does mean the past, Buchanan is a strong witness; he rendering it "miseram," and the French accordingly, "j'avoye envoyé."

(4) This is also impossible to be true. He had gone into Lydisdale on the evening of the 24th. It was a long journey, through the worst of roads, and in the worst of seasons. She knew he was to take it. He went, no doubt, upon some business of his office, He was lord-warden of the marches*. An object, that required such a journey in such a season, would be important enough to detain him a day or two. In fact it did detain him till the 28th †. And yet Mary is most absurdly made to

* Goodall, i. 303. † Appendix, N° x.

complain,

complain on the 26th or 27th, whichever day we fix the date of this letter, that he had *then* delayed his return (not to Edinborough, but to Glaſgow) longer than he had promiſed; when in fact he *could* not have gone and returned, by *either* of thoſe days.

II.—"As to me, howbeit I have na farther "newis from zow, according to my commiſſioun, I "bring the man with me to Craigmillar (1) upon "Monounday (2), quhair he will be all Wedneſ- "day (2); and I will gang to Edinburgh to draw "blude of me, gif in the meane tyme I get na newis "in ye contrary fra zow."

II.—"Quod ad me attinet, quanquam nihil "audiam præterea ex te novi, tamen, juxta partes "mihi commiſſas, hominem adduco mecum ad "Cragmillarium (1) die Lunæ (2), ubi erit toto "die Mercurii (2); ego autem ibo Edinburgum, "ut mittam ex me ſanguinem, ſi nihil interea novi "in contrarium de te audiam."

II.—"Quant a moy, encor que je n'oye rien de "nouveau de vos, toutesfois, ſelon le charge que j'ay "receuë, j'ameine l'homme avec moy Lundy (2) a "Cragmillar (1), ou il ſera tout le Mecredy (2); "et j'iray a Edimbourgh pour me faire tirer du

" ſang, ſi je n'enten [entend] rien de nouveau de " vous au contraire."

(1) To ſhew again the important alteration which has been made in this and the preceding letter, concerning the deſigned route of the Queen towards Edinborough; let me once more produce the words of the journal. " The Quene (conforme " to hir commiſſion, as ſhe wryttis) broucht the " King from Glaſcow to the *Kalendar*, towards " Edynbrough;" as the next day " the Quene " broucht the King to *Linlythquow*," and on the third day " remained all day in *Linlythquow* with " the King." And on the fourth " the Quene " broucht the King to *Edynbrough*, and put him in " *his ludging quhair he endit*," that very " ludgeing " in Edinburgh" noticed at the end of the laſt letter *.

(2) This paſſage points out the days of the week, as the date at the bottom of the letter alſo does, " From Glaſgow this Setterday in the morning." Let us appropriate the days of the month to them. And then we ſhall gain from both, one of the ſtrongeſt marks of forgery that we have yet ſeen.

The Queen, by the Rebel Journal, reached Glaſgow on January 23d, 1566-7. Now January 23d in that year was a THURSDAY †. On THURSDAY

* Appendix, N° x. † Goodall, i. 120; Robertſon Diſſ. 40; Goodall, ii. 249, Rebel Journal, for April 12th being Saturday; and Goodall, ii. 244, compared with ii. 248, for February 5th and 7th being Wedneſday and Friday.

evening she sat with him after supper. On FRIDAY evening, January 24th, she wrote the former half of the first letter. And on SATURDAY evening, January 25th, she wrote the other half. The evidences for this have been produced again and again before. There is no error possible in them. The *first* letter could not be finished till SATURDAY night. It could not be sent off before SUNDAY morning. And yet the *second* letter is dated on SATURDAY MORNING. This is exceedingly gross indeed.

But let us trace some of the principal notes of time once more, to pin down conviction more strongly on the mind.

In the *former* half of the letter preceding, she speaks of something that happened "the morne "efter my cumming." This again shews the *former* half to be written on FRIDAY January 24. Nor let disingenuity pretend to take shelter in a supposed interpolation *. Interpolations must be proved, before they are allowed. And, if arguments were to be answered by suppositions, all reasoning would be at an end, and the human mind left to drivel on in the chimæras of a dream.

All the other notes of time also coincide with this. They all concur with it, to prove *that* half of the letter to have been written, in the *evening* of *the day after her arrival*. Thus, the first or THURSDAY evening, January 23, he "desyrit," she says, "yat I suld walk," that is, wake, "with him;—I

* Robertson, Diss. 28.

"excusit

" excuſit myſelf for this nycht that I culd not " walk." *This night therefore ſhe retired to bed*, as ſhe well might after her journey. The *next* day, being " the morne efter her cumming," he confeſſed ſomething concerning Willie Hiegait, which he had not confeſſed in the converſation the night before. And in the *evening* of that day ſhe is employed in writing, what ſhe calls her " firſt jor- " nay," which ſhe " ſall end the morne" or next day; being now " ganging to ſleip." So plainly was the *firſt* half of the preceding letter, written in the *night* of FRIDAY January 24th. The *other* half, we ſee, was intended to be written " the morne," or next day, SATURDAY January 25th. So alſo ſhe ſays in another part of this former half; " I am " gangand to ſeik myne [repoſe] till the morne, " quhen I ſall end my bybill," bylle, or long letter. But when does ſhe end it? On the morrow, or SATURDAY January 25. " I wrocht this day," ſhe ſays, " quhill it was twa houris," or two o'clock, " upon this bracelet." She alſo adds afterwards, " I ſaw him not *this evening*, for to end zour brace- " let." And ſhe finally adds, that " it is *lait*."

All this demonſtrates the falſe chronology of the letters, in the plaineſt manner. Their own notes of time refute them. They carry their own paper of infamy diſplayed upon their breaſts. And yet they have been believed to be genuine, by a manly and thinking nation. They have been defended by a Hume. They have been admitted as hiſtory by a Robertſon.

III.—

III.—" He is mair gay then ever ze ſaw him (1); " he puttis me in remembrance of all thingis yat " may make me beleve he lufis me (2). Summa, " ze will ſay yat he makis luſe to me (3): of the " quhilk I tak ſa greit pleiſure, yat I enter never " where he is, bot incontinent I tak ye ſeiknes of " my ſair ſyde (4), I am ſa troubillit with it (5). " Gif Paris bringis me that quhilk I ſend him for, " I traiſt it ſall amend me (6)."

III.—" Eſt hilarior ac vegetior, quâm unquam " eum videris (1); ſubjicit mihi in memoriam (2) " omnia, quæ efficere queant ut me credam ab eo " amari. In ſummâ, diceres quód me cum ſummâ " obſervantiâ colat et ambiat (3); quâ de re ita " magnam capio voluptatem, quód nunquam ad " eum ingredior, quin dolor lateris mei infirmi (4) " me invadat, ita me malé habet (5). Si Paris ad " me afferet id cujus cauſâ eum miſeram, ſpero me " meliús habituram (6)."

III.—" Il eſt plus joyeux et diſpos, que vous ne " l'avez jamais veu (1); il me reduict en memoire " (2) toutes les choſes, qui me peuvent faire enten- " dre qu'il m'aime. En ſomme, vous diriez qu'il " m'honnore et recherche avec grand reſpect (3): " en quoy je pren ſi grand plaiſir, que je n'entre " jamais vers luy, que la douleur de mon coſté " malade (4) ne me ſaiſiſſe, tant il me faſche (5). " Si Paris m'apportoit ce pourquoy j'avoye envoyé, " j'eſpere que je me porteroye mieux (6)."

(1) This

(1) This is extraordinary. The King is yet very weak. He was to riſe, as ſhe tells us in the ſecond half of her letter written in the evening of Saturday January 25th, "the morne betyme," early on Sunday January 26th. This was the firſt time of his leaving his bed. He therefore deſired the Queen "to cum and ſé him ryſe." Yet now, on *Saturday* morning, he is very gay. But let us ſuppoſe it to be the morning, on which he was to riſe; and let us ſuppoſe him, on finding himſelf riſen from the bed of dangerous ſickneſs, full of ſpirit, full of courteſy, full of gallantry. Yet he could not poſſibly "be mair gay," than ever Both well had ſeen him. He had however *ſaluted every body, even to the loweſt perſons*, and had *made piteous careſſing unto them, to draw down their pity upon him*; at a time when he kept his bed and ſaw no one. And in the ſame ſtrain he is now "mair gay then ever;" when he is ſo weak, as to be carried to Edinborough in a litter.—"Mair "gay," Scotch; "hilarior ac vegetior," Latin; "plus joyeux et diſpos," French.

(2) "He puttis me in remembrance of," Scotch; "ſubjicit mihi in memoriam," Latin; "il me re-"duict en memoire," French. "The word *me-"moire*," ſays the Miſcellaneous Remarker *, "has "enabled THE SCOTTISH TRANSLATOR to give the "general meaning of this ſentence. It is plain, "however, that he did not comprehend the particu-"lar import of the phraſe, "'il me reduict en me-"'moire,'" which means to draw up a liſt or inven-

* P 9.

"tory.

" tory. The expreſſion, as here uſed, is highly " ſarcaſtical and inſulting. He makes out for my " uſe a *catalogue* of all the circumſtances in his con- " duct, which may make me underſtand that he " loves me." I have cited this paſſage, merely to hold up the author of it once more to the merited ridicule of the public. " Mr. Goodall," he acknowledges, " has proved beyond poſſibility of cavil, " that the *firſt* letter, as we now have it, was tran- " ſlated into French from the Latin copy*." This acknowledgment was ſurely ſufficient to have ſettled the gentleman's faith. If one letter is proved to be a tranſlation, when it pretended to be an original; then an impoſture is detected. If one letter aſſerted itſelf to have been written by Mary in the French language, and yet appears from its own internal evidence to be merely a tranſlation from the Scotch at ſecond hand; then a forgery is proved. And if one of the letters is proved to be a forgery " beyond poſſibility of cavil," he muſt be a caviller indeed, who will ſtill maintain the authenticity of the others. Yet this gentleman does maintain it. *He ſuppoſes it.* He ſpeaks of the Scotch as a tranſlation, in direct contradiction to his own confeſſion. He ſays, that this tranſlation has not given us the preciſe import of the French original here. And thus any difference between the two copies, without proof that the French is the original, and even againſt proof that the Scotch is, is to be aſcribed to the inaccuracy of the Scotch as a tranſlation. I

* P. 34.

have already confirmed the internal arguments of Mr. Goodall, by an hiſtorical evidence, that goes to *all* the letters, and that proves *all* to have been Scotch many months before they were French. But to what I have ſaid I wiſh to ſubjoin one brief remark, on this gentleman's reaſoning concerning the French of this paſſage. "Reduire en memoire," he ſays, ſignifies "to draw up a liſt or inventory." This is not true. Nor would it be available, if it was. "Reduire en memoire" ſignifies to make a memorandum of a thing. So "memoire" is uſed for "memorial," in Let. 1. Sect. XXXV. And "mettre en memoire" is uſed for "making me-"morial" in Sect. XXXII. Yet even this is only the *ſecondary* ſenſe of the expreſſion. The *primary* is ſimply "to recall into memory." So we have "ayez memoire" in Let. 1. Sect. XXXVI. for "remember zow." Indeed "reduire en memoire" is purely the Latin "reducere in memoriam," retained in the French. And, as we *know* the French of *all* theſe letters to be merely the Latin tranſlated, we know "il me reduict en memoire" here to be merely the "ſubjicit mihi in memoriam" of the Latin, or, as the corrected Latin perhaps ran, "re-"ducit mihi in memoriam;" and both to be a tranſlation of the Scotch, "he puttis me in re-"membrance." Biſhop Leſley ſays, in preface to his Negotiations, "I have reduced to theyr remem-"brance *."

(3) At York the words were theſe, "ſumma, ye "will ſay he makis *the court* to me †." And the

* P. xix. Anderſon, iii. † Appendix, N° vii.

Latin

Latin verſion appears to have been formed upon this reading, "cum ſummâ obſervantiâ colat et "ambiat," ſo faithfully retained in the French, "honnore et recherche avec grand reſpect." And a variation of a ſingle word only, in a letter pretending to be an original of Mary's, evinces the forgery of the whole.

(4) Dr. Robertſon was imprudent enough, to dwell upon this as a mark of authenticity. The pain in her ſide, he ſays *, "is mentioned—in a 'manner ſo natural, as can ſcarce belong to any 'but a genuine production." An argument of this kind, from its very feebleneſs of nature, can never be of any conſequence. But let us examine it. Such a writer, even in his weakeſt eſſays of reaſon, is not unworthy of a refutation.

"The Queen," ſays Le Croc, "behaved her-'ſelf admirably well all the time of the baptiſm; 'and ſhewed ſo much earneſtneſs to entertain all 'the goodly company in the beſt manner, that this 'made her forget in a good meaſure her former 'ailments. But—ſhe continues to be—penſive and 'melancholy. She ſent for me yeſterday," December 22d, "and I found her laid on the bed 'weeping ſore, and ſhe complained of *a grievous 'pain in her ſide*. And, for a ſurcharge of evils, it 'chanced that the day her Majeſty ſet out from 'Edinburgh for this place," Stirling, "ſhe hurt 'one of her breaſts on the horſe, which ſhe told 'me is now ſwelled †." The intimation in the

* Diſſ. 27. † Keith, pref. vii.

text was plainly intended, as a kind of burlesque upon this incident in Mary's life; and, as a burlesque is sure to be, is greatly overcharged. She was "weeping sore" at the strange conduct of the King. And the strong anguish of her spirit, which she had thrown off during her appearance before her splendid guests, and which, for that very reason, returned with the greater force upon her in retirement, had occasioned, as strong anguish frequently did in her *, and frequently does in others, a violent pain in her side. But what parallel can there possibly be, between such a cause for the pain, and the present; between the mere sight of her husband, *whom she went to see*, whom she *knew* she should find sick, whom she has *repeatedly* seen in his sickness already, and to whom she wished to shew every mark of attention; and this great burst of confined sorrow? None surely. And nothing, but the monster-making spirit of forgery, could have thought of ranking them as equivalent. Mary appears *not* to have been generally "subject to a vio-"lent pain in her side," as Dr. Robertson infers she does from the embassadour's letter †. He might as well have concluded from it, that she was generally subject to "pensiveness and melancholy," to a habit of "weeping sore," or to "a hurt and "swelled breast." These were complaints all equally incidental. The weeping, from the sharpness of the paroxysm, occasioned the pain. And the letter-writer, willing to catch at any circum-

* Diss. 27. † Guthry's Scotch Hist. vii. 211.

ſtance that ſhould ſeem to *appropriate* his forgeries, and acting under the *peculiar* promptitude of forgers to *generalize* incidents, took up an occaſional pain, made it an habitual one, and even gave it to the Queen at a time, when the moſt habitual could never have been given. He has thus made the pain in the ſide completely farcical. He has thus betrayed the over-doing hand of impoſition in the work. He has thus turned Dr. Robertſon's mark of authenticity, into a full proof of forgery *.

(5) "I am ſa troubillit with it," Scotch; "ita me malé habet," Latin; "tant il me faſche," French. This is brought as another inſtance by Miſcellaneous Remarker †, of *the Scottiſh tranſlation* miſſing the ſenſe of *the French original*. "The Scotch," he obſerves, "ſays with *it*, the French *il*; the ſenſe is, *he* ſo troubles or vexes me." But the real ſenſe in both is, that *it*, French *il*, troubles me. "He makis lufe to me," ſays this *transformed* Mary, "of the *quhilk* I tak ſa greit pleiſure, yat I enter never where he is, bot incontinent I tak ye ſeiknes of my ſair ſyde, I am ſa troubillit with *it*."

But here let me notice another proof of the forgery, in another variation of the text. "I am ſa *troubillit* at it," as Mary writes in the *Weſtminſter* original of this letter, was primarily written by her

* To ſhew the eternal ſhiftings of falſhood, Buchanan has taken this intimation, and varied it thus; "quhais *ſtomach turnit* at the ſicht of him, quha is ſuddanely taken with pangis at his preſence." 144. Anderſon. ii. and 252. Jebb, i.

† P. 39.

in the *York* original, "I am ſoe *faſchit* with it*." And the French "tant il me *faſche*," which could not be derived from the Scotch, becauſe it is not in the Scotch of the Weſtminſter letters, ſhews very plainly the caſual coincidences betwixt the Scotch and the French of the letters.

(6) This is one more of the anachroniſms, that betray the whole. Paris, the bearer of the laſt letter, could not go with it before it was finiſhed. But it was not finiſhed till late in the night of Saturday, January the 25th. He therefore could not ſet out till Sunday morning, January 26th. Yet "ziſter-"day" ſhe was in full expectation of an anſwer, and to-day ſhe thinks an anſwer would cure her of her ſickneſs. And yet to-day, by the date of this very letter, is only "Setterday in the morning." She therefore expected an anſwer to her letter—before it was ſent, and even—before it was written. Even if we overlook this, and ſuppoſe this to be the morning *after* ſhe had finiſhed her letter; the bearer *can be but juſt gone with it*, as the letter could not be ſent before the morning. Even if we paſs over this too, and again ſuppoſe one whole day to have elapſed between diſpatching the firſt letter and writing the ſecond; ſhe could expect no anſwer yet, and ſtill leſs could ſhe expect one "ziſterday." Even if we once more addreſs ourſelves to the work of *creating* time, and throw in two whole days betwixt the firſt and ſecond letters; ſtill no anſwer could be expected to-day, none

* Appendix, N° vii.

could

could be expected yesterday, and none could come in less than one whole day more. And when we consider further, that all this is said upon the supposition of Bothwell being then at Edinborough, though he was actually at Lydisdale all the while; and reflect also, that the letter-writer knew he was; we see the difficulties increasing upon us in spite of all our endeavours. We see the chronology hanging like a mill-stone around the neck of the letters. And we behold them sinking under the weight,

With louder ruin to the gulphs below.

The fact is, that the letters suppose the Queen to have continued longer at Glasgow, than the journal allows her to have done. That such a variation should have been introduced into letters, which were to be modelled upon the dates of the journal; is most extraordinary. The very existence of the journal, the very discovery of it among the other papers of Cecil's, shews it to have been intended as the key and the companion of the letters. On that, no doubt, were they formed at first. But from that were they made to deviate afterwards, by those alterations and corrections, of which we have seen so many in the preceding parts of this work, and of which I have shewn an additional one at the end of the last letter. And thus mention was incidentally made of a variety of days in the letters, while there were only three, and one evening besides, in the journal. Thus, the first letter is written in *two* days after the day of arrival. A *third* day is referred to in these words of it, "he desyris me to cum and sé him ryse *the morne* betyme;—gif I

" leirne ony thing heir, I will mak zow memoriall " at *evin*." On this third day, the firſt letter is diſpatched. An anſwer could not return, even from Edinborough only, under three days. Murray actually makes Paris to be three days, in bringing back this very anſwer *. " Ziſterday" therefore, when Mary expected an anſwer, muſt have been the *fifth* day at leaſt. And *to-day* muſt be the *ſixth*. This is very like Falſtaff's " eleven buck- " ram men grown out of two," and reſults from the very ſame ſpirit, the careleſs confidence of habitual falſhood. It is certainly very wonderful, that the rebels ſhould have ſo far indulged their confidence and their falſhood, as to depart boldly from the very line which they had preſcribed to their conduct. But it is certainly more wonderful, that, after they *had* departed, they ſhould either not ſee or not mind their own anachroniſms; and ſtill give in to the commiſſioners of England that very journal, by which, of all poſſible papers in the world, thoſe anachroniſms were moſt ſure to be detected. And all ſerves to ſhew, what cannot be too often inculcated, the amazing infatuation of ſucceeding times, in catching up with profound reſpect this haſtily and clumſily carved block of wood, fancying it " an " image that fell down from Jupiter," and ſo giving it a moſt honourable niche in the temple of hiſtory.

* Goodall, ii. 77—78.

IV.—

IV.—" I pray zow, advertiſe me of zour newis " at lenth, and quhat I ſall do in cace ze be not re- " turnit quhen I am cum thair (1); for in cace ze " wirk not wyſely, I ſé that the haill burding of this " (2) will fall upon my ſchoulderis. Provide for " all thingis, and diſcourſe upon it firſt with zour- " ſelf. I ſend this be Betoun (3), quha gais to ane " day of law of the Laird of Balfouris (4). I will " ſay na farther, ſaiſing that I pray zow to ſend me " gude newis of zour voyage (5). From Glaſgow " this Setterday in the morning."

IV.—" Oro, fac me certiorem de tuis rebus pro- " lixé, et quid mihi ſit faciendum, ſi tu non eris re- " verſus cúm ego illuc veneró (1); quia, niſi tu " rem geres prudenter, video tetum onus (2) in " meos humeros inclinaturum. Proſpice omnia, ac " priús tecum rem expende. Hæc tibi mitto per " Betonem (3), qui proficiſcitur ad diem dictum " D. Balfurio (4). Non dicam plura, niſi quód te " rogo ut de tuo itinere me certiorem facias (5). " Glaſcua hôc Sabbato mané."

IV.—" Je vous prie, faictes moy ſcavoir bien " au long de vos affaires, et ce qu'il me faut faire, " ſi vous n'eſtes de retour quand je ſeray là ar- " rivée (1); car ſi vous ne conduiſez la choſe ſage- " ment, je voy que tout le faix (2) retournera " ſur mes eſpaules. Regardez a tout, et premiere-

" ment

" ment eſpluchez le faict en vous meſmes. Je vous " envoye ceci par Beton (3), qui s'en ira au jour " aſſigné au Sieur Balfurd (4). Je ne vous en di- " ray d'avantage, ſinon pour vous prier que me fa- " ciez entendre de voſtre voyage (5). A Glaſcow " ce Samedy matin."

(1) This is one of thoſe many addreſſes for intelligence, which could not poſſibly be granted, even upon the forger's *own* chronology. *By this very letter* it was now Saturday in the morning. *By this very letter*, ſhe was to ſet out on Monday. And he was to ſend her a long letter of news, betwixt the one and the other. But where was he *then?* Not at Edinborough. This is plain. He might not be returned thither, even by the time ſhe reached the city. From whence then was he to write her this long letter? From Lydiſdale, very plainly. And betwixt Saturday and Monday morning he was to receive her letter from Glaſgow, and to write a long anſwer from Lydiſdale, containing a full account of himſelf, and inſtructing her how ſhe was to act in caſe he ſhould not be returned at her arrival. So wonderfully do the impoſſibilities multiply upon us, at every ſurvey of the chronology!

(2) " Of this," Scotch, omitted in Latin and French.

(3) This is " Archibald Betoun," as Thomas Nelſon's depoſitions inform us, " quhilk—wes eſ- " cheare of the Quenis chalmer-door *."

* Goodall, ii. 244.

(4) " Day

(4) "Day of law," Scotch; "diem dictum," Latin; and "jour assigné," French. The Frenchman, not understanding the peculiar import of the expression "dies dictus," translated it literally, and therefore unmeaningly. When "day of "law" occurred before, the Latin rendered it paraphrastically, "in eum ipsum diem ut causam dice-"ret accersitum," and the French, "ce jour-la "meſme il estoit adjourneé." And the Miscellaneous Remarker appears to have been as ignorant of the Scotch, as the Frenchman was of the Latin. "'A day of law of the laird of "'Balfouris,'" he says, "is an unintelligible "phrase: the meaning of the French seems to be, "'who will go on the day appointed to Mr. Bal-"'four.'" "We know not to what circumstance "this alludes *." And thus the very Mary, who says she sends this letter by a bearer that *goes* to one of the Lord of Balfour's courts, is made by the Frenchman and the Remarker to send it by a man, that *will go* on some future day with it, and to *Mr. Balfour* instead of Bothwell. "A day of law" is an expression, which was very common formerly for a court-day. The Earl of Lenox desires Mary "to differ this *day of law*" for Bothwell's trial †, and points out some ridiculous inconvenience, "gyf your Majestie suffer this schort *day of law* to go forwart ‡." And "the *day of law*," says the English embassadour Randolph to his Queen, "against the four burgesses, men of this

* P. 39. † Anderson, i. 53. ‡ Ibid. 54.

"town,

"town, is like to hold, for any thing that ſhe," Mary, "can be perſuaded to the contrary*." The term *law-day*, alſo, appears in all the old charters within our own kingdom. It appears even in Sir Nicholas Throgmorton's diſpatches to Elizabeth from Scotland; he ſaying in one of them, that "the *law-day* for the murder of the late King doth "hold†." And "the laird of Balfouris" was the well-known Sir James Balfour, called by our Walſingham "Sir James Baford‡," as he is here called by the French tranſlator "Sieur Balfurd."

(5) The mention of the "voyage" here confirms the hint above, of Bothwell's being gone to Lydiſdale, and of the Queen's knowing it. Yet ſhe ſtill continues her clamours for news from him; when from that very "voyage" they were doubly impoſſible to be gratified. "Send me *gude* newis," Scotch; "me certiorem facias," Latin; and "me "faciez entendre," French. She wanted not merely to hear *news* of his journey, but *good* news. Yet Miſcellaneous Remarker, with a ſtrange turn of thought, objects to the Scotch for—being wiſer in its meaning than the French §.

* Goodall, i. 246—247. † Keith, 451. ‡ Robertſon, ii. 463. § P. 39.

§ II.

§ II.

LETTER THE THIRD.

I.—" I have walkit [waked] laiter thairup then " I wald have done (1), gif it had not bene to " draw ſum thing out of him (2), quhilk this beirer " will ſchaw zow; quhilk is the faireſt commoditie " that can be offerit to excuſe zour affairis (3). I " have promyſit to bring him [the bearer] to him " [the King] the morne (4). Put ordour to it, gif " ze find it gude (5).

I.—" Diutiús illic morata ſum quàm volebam " (1), niſi id factum fuiſſet ut aliquid ex eo ex- " ſculperem (2), quod hic tabellarius tibi indica- " bit; quæ eſt belliſſima occaſio ad excuſandum " noſtra negotia (3). Promiſi me ipſum cràs ad " eum adducturam (4). Tu rem cura, ſi tibi com- " moda videtur (5)."

I.—" J'aye veillé plus tard là-haut, que j'en euſſe " fait (1), ſi ce n'euſt eſté pour tirer (2) ce que ce " porteur vous dira; que je trouve la plus belle " commodité pour excuſer voſtre affaire, qui ſe " pourroit preſenter (3). J'ay promis, que je luy " meneray demain ceſtuy-la (4). Vous aiez en ſoin, " ſi la choſe vous ſemble commode (5).

(1) Buchanan read the words, as they ſeemingly ought to be read, " walkit up there," not " walkit " thair-up,"

" thair-up," as Dr. Robertſon reads them *. But he careleſsly rendered " walkit up," by " mo- " rata ſum." And ſo the whole became " illic " morata ſum." The corrected Latin ſaw the error, amended it, and made another. It turned " morata ſum" into *vigilavi*, and " thair-up," as it read the words with Dr. Robertſon, into *illic ſurſus*; and ſo produced in its reflection, the French, " j'aye " *veillé* plus tard *là-haut*." And thus the paſſage, as I ſhall ſhew more at length hereafter, implied Mary to be, as ſhe is actually ſaid in the rebel journal to have been, when ſhe wrote the non-apparent letter concerning " the abbot of Haly- " ruid-houſe," writing in a room below the King's. Yet ſhe now lodged in a different houſe. " All the " freindis of the uther," the Stuarts, the adherents of Darnly, " convoyis me quhen I gang to ſé " him," ſhe ſays in her firſt letter. And there ſhe " wrayt hir *bylle* and uther letteris to Both- " well."—This paſſage, however, ſhews the third letter, like the two parts of the firſt, to be written late at night. On what night, will appear hereafter.

(2) " Out of him," Scotch; " ex eo," Latin, omitted in French.

(3) " Faireſt occaſioun," Scotch; " belliſſima " occaſio," Latin; and " la plus belle commodité," French. " Zour," Scotch; " noſtra," Latin; " voſ- " tre," French, from the corrected Latin. Miſcel-

* Diſſ. 35.

laneous

laneous Remarker ſuſpects, "that the French has "been erroneouſly tranſcribed, and that the origi- "nal word was *executer**." But has the Scotch alſo been "erroneouſly tranſcribed?" This however he will preſume to be only a verſion from the French, and ſo to copy the erroneous reading there. He may *preſume* it was. But others have *proved* it was not. And was the Latin alſo tranſcribed erroneouſly, or will he *preſume* the Latin to be equally a verſion from the French? The word being the ſame in all the three copies, and good ſenſe in all; every conjectural reading ſurely is precluded for ever.

This is the laſt of the three ſentences, from which, as connoiſſeurs in ſtatuary pretend to judge of an Apollo by a finger or a toe, Dr. Robertſon attempts to prove the exiſtence of a French copy, different from that very copy in which theſe very ſentences are found. But what is the *proof* from the preſent paſſage? It lies, according to the Doctor himſelf, in "j'aye veillé plus tard là-haut" being plainly no tranſlation of "diutiùs illic morata ſum," and "pour excuſer *voſtre* affaire" being "very" different from "ad excuſandum *noſtra* negotia†." The whole therefore is reduced to two variations betwixt the French and the Latin. Are ſuch variations, then, *confined* to the *firſt* ſentence of each of theſe three letters? Are they not extended to other ſentences? And are they not diffuſed all over the

* P. 40. † Diſſ. 33.

letters? They are. I have shewn them to be so, in the two letters preceding. I shall shew them to be so in this. And the Doctor's argument will thus, in *his* mode of proving, demonstrate the *present* French, and *every* sentence in it, to be that very original, which it primarily pretended to be, which Mr. Goodall has so powerfully proved it not to be, and which even the Doctor dares not assert it is. The truth is, as I have already shewn and shall shew still farther, that from those posterior corrections of the Latin, which we have even seen Buchanan himself making, from inattention at one time, and from ignorance at another, the French and the Latin vary frequently; though they are still so close in general, and the French still adheres so particularly even to the blunders of the Latin, that the confession of the French translator was hardly necessary to shew he translated from the Latin. He confessed however, that he did. Nor does he make the ridiculous exceptions, which Dr. Robertson chuses to make for him; and say he translated all from the Latin, *except the first sentence in each of the letters*, which he took from—the French original. He says that he translated *all*, all of the first three letters, and all of the other four too. Let him come, and speak for himself again. "Au reste," he tells us, "epistres mises sur la fin," which *were all but the eighth*, "avoient esté escrites par la Royne, partie "en Francois, partie en Escossois, et depuis tra- "duictes ENTIEREMENT en LATIN: mais, n'ayant "cognoissance de la langue Escossoise, j'ay mieux

" aimé exprimer TOUT ce que j'ay trouvé en LA-" TIN, que," &c. This confeſſion takes a comprehenſive ſweep. It makes *all* the ſeven letters, and the *whole* of *each* of the ſeven, to have been tranſlated into Latin, and from thence to have been rendered into French. It ſtarts no piddling objections about ſentences or half-ſentences, at the head or at the tail of any. It embraces all within its wide-ſpread arms. And it proves the fancied exiſtence of a French copy at the time, to be all a fairy viſion, the creation of minds that have ſubjected their judgments to their imaginations, the invited dreams of ſelf-deluſion. Nor let this be thought too ſevere upon a very reſpectable writer. He is here, I believe, all that I inſinuate. He has noticed two variations in this very paſſage, of the French from the Latin. But he *omits* a third, becauſe it is a variation from the *Scotch* as well as the Latin, and becauſe it makes *nonſenſe* of the clauſe. " To draw ſum thing *out of him*, quhilk this beirer " will ſchaw zow," Scotch; " ut aliquid *ex eo* exſculperem, quod hic tabellarius tibi indicabit," Latin; " pour tirer [*hors de luy*, ſhould have been added] ce que ce porteur vous dira," French. And the Doctor ought, in honeſty, to have produced *this*, as a *third* proof of the originality of the French here; or, as he ſaw the abſurdity of that, to have given up his hypotheſis entirely, to have owned his convictions, and to have remitted the letters to the ſcorn and deteſtation of mankind.

(4) "The morne," Scotch. What day this was, I ſhall endeavour to ſhew hereafter. At preſent I remark, that this letter was not to go away, before the bearer had been carried by the Queen to the King the next day.

(5) What this was, we know not. It was never intended, that we ſhould know. It is only one of the many nothings, which are veiled up in a myſterious obſcurity, in order to riſe into conſequence; as a hill, ſeen through a fog, ſwells up into a mountain.—"Put ordour to it," Scotch, that is, put the matter in a train for action; "tu rem cura," Latin; and "vous ayez en ſoin," French.

II.—"Now, Schir, I have brokin my promeis, "becaus ze commandit me nouther to wryte nor "ſend unto zow (1). Zit I have not done this to "offend zow (2). And gif ze knew the feir yat I "have preſently, ze wald not have ſo many con-"trary ſuſpiciounis in zour thocht (3); quhilk "notwithſtanding I treit and chereis (4), as pro-"ceeding from the thing in the warld (5) that I "maiſt deſyre, and ſeikis faſteſt to haif (6), quhilk "is zour gude grace; of the quhilk my behaviour "ſall aſſure me (7). As to me, I ſall never diſ-"pair of it; and prayis zow, according to zour "promeis, to"

II.—

II.—" Nunc, Domine, ego pactum violavi; " quia tu vetuisti ne vel scriberem vel mitterem ad " te (1). Non tamen hoc feci quo te offenderem " (2). Et si scires quanto in metu ego sum in " præsentiâ, non tot in animo haberes contrarias " suspiciones (3); quibus tamen ego faveo, et boni " consulo (4), tanquam profectis ab eâ re, quam " ego omnium quæ sub cœlo sunt (5) maximé " cupio et diligentissimé persequor (6), qui est tuus " favor; de quo mea me officia certam et securam " facient. Quod ad me attinet, nunquam de eo " desperabo; ac te rogo,"

II.—" Maintenant j'ay violé l'accord; car vous aviez deffendu que je n'escriviſſe, ou que je n'envoyaſſe, par devers vous (1): neantmoins je ne l'ay faict pour vous offenſer (2). Et ſi vous ſcaviez en quell crainte je ſuis a preſent, vous n'auriez point tant de ſoupçons contraires en voſtre eſprit (3), leſquels toutesfois je ſupporte, et pren en bonne part (4), comme provenans de la choſe que je deſire le plus de toutes celles qui ſont ſoubs le ciel (5), et que je pourſuy avec extreme diligence (6), a ſcavoir, voſtre amitié, dont tant de devoirs que je fay me rendent certaine et aſſurée (7). Quant a moy je n'en deſeſpereray jamais; et vous prie,"

(1) Mary now appears to have made a " promeis," becauſe Bothwell required one from her, 'nouther to wryte nor ſend unto" him. This is moſt amazing. She has never mentioned it before.

fore. Yet she has actually written TWICE. And this gives the very stamp of absurdity itself to these ill-contrived forgeries. Nor let it be said, in order to evade the censure, that he so "comman-"dit" her in a *letter* since his departure. She speaks not merely of his "command," but of her own "promeis." This could not be given by *letter*, even if the "command" could; as to give it so, would be to break the command in promising to obey it. And the stamp must still remain fixed, in one of its deepest impressions, upon the face of the forgeries.—"Schir," Scotch; "Domine," Latin, omitted in the French.

(2) Why then did she write at all? She has nothing particular to say. Even if she had, she was commanded, and had promised, neither to write nor send unto him. But when both reasons concur to keep her hand from the pen, in the name of propriety why does she write at all?—*She was obliged to write.*

> Is it in equilibrio,
> Whether the Gods descend or no?
> Then let th' affirmative prevail,
> As requisite to form my tale.

(3) What suspicions were these? Of Mary's fidelity to Bothwell, I suppose. But *why* should Bothwell entertain such? And *how* comes Mary to know, that he does entertain them? Neither appears. She *cannot* have heard from him, though she was so impatient for hearing in the last letter. He is in Lydisdale all this while. She does not say that she has heard from him, and yet has lost all

her

her impatience. How is all this? This letter indeed is apparently unconnected with the foregoing. All intimation concerning the King is nearly suppressed. There is no hint of Paris or the first letter. There is no hint of Beton or the second. And I take it, from all the features of it, to have been one super-added to the original number from Glasgow, super-added some time after the number was finished, but before the mention of the letters in the journal was finally settled. The journal speaks of Mary writing "hir bylle and uther letteris" from Glasgow; plainly implying her to have written two or three letters besides her bylle.

(4) "Treit and chereis," Scotch; "faveo et "boni consulo," Latin; "supporte, et pren en "bonne part," French.

(5) "The thing in the warld," Scotch; "omnium quæ sub cœlo sunt," Latin; "toutes celles "qui sont soubs le ciel," French.

(6) "Maist desyre, and seikis fastest to haif," Scotch; "maximé cupio *et diligentissimé persequor*," Latin; "je *poursuy avec extreme diligence*," French, omitting the former clause.

(7) "My behaviour sall assure me," Scotch; "mea me officia *certam et securam facient*," Latin; "tant de devoirs que je fay me rendent *certaine et* "*assurée*," French. The wordiness of the French, and even of the Latin, compared with the Scotch, is very evident. And the French has additionally turned the future time of the Scotch and Latin into the present.

" diſcharge zour hart unto me (1): utherwayis I
" will think that my malhure, and the gude hand-
" ling of hir (2) that hes not ye third part of the
" faithfull nor willing obedience unto zow that I
" beir (3), hes wyn, aganis my will, yat advantage
" over me, quhilk the ſecond luſe of Jaſon wan (4):
" not that I will compair zow unto ane ſa unhappy
" as he was, nor zit myſelf to ane ſa unpietifull ane
" woman as ſcho (5)."

" ut juxta tua promiſſa animum tuum mihi expo-
" neres (1): alioqui ſuſpicabor fieri malo meo fa-
" to et ſiderum favore erga illas (2), quæ nec ter-
" tiam habent partem fidelitatis, et voluntatis tibi
" obſequendi, quam ego habeo (3); ut ipſæ, velut
" ſecunda Jaſonis amica, me invitâ, priorem apud
" te locum gratiæ occupaverint (4): nec hoc eó
" dico, quó te cum homine, ça quâ ille erat infeli-
" citate, comparem, nec me cum muliere tam alienâ
" a miſericordia (5) quám"

" que ſuivant vos promeſſes, vous me faciez en-
" tendre voſtre affection (1): autrement j'eſtimeray
" que cela ſe faict par mon malheureux deſtin, et
" par la faveur des aſtres envers celles (2), qui
" toutesfois n'ont une tierce partie de loyauté, et
" volonté que j'ay de vous obeïr (3); ſi elles, comme
" ſi j'eſtoye une ſecond amye de Jaſon, malgré

" moy, occupent le premier lieu de faveur (4): ce " que je ne dy, pour vous a comparer a cet homme " en l'infelicité qu'il avoit, ny moy avec une " femme toute esloignée de misericorde (5), comme " estoit celle-la. Combien que vous"

(1) " Discharge zour hart unto me," Scotch; " animum tuum mihi exponeres," Latin; " me " faciez entendre vostre affection," French. The Miscellaneous Remarker observes, that it is difficult " to say how so plain a French phrase should " have been disfigured in a translation *;" he being one of those logicians who choose to *beg* the question, when they cannot make it their own by their prowess; and so supposing the Scotch to be a translation from the French. But are the Scotch and the French then different? They certainly are. And *the French is wrong*. Mary does not want Bothwell to discloſe his affection to her. She wants him to lay open his heart, and to tell her the ground and reason of his suspicions. Accordingly, the Latin renders the words, " animum tuum mihi " exponeres." And the Frenchman, mistaking the import of the Latin, turned " animum" into " af- " fection."

(2) " My malhure, and the gude handling," Scotch; " malo meo fato, et siderum favore," Latin; and " mon malheureux destin, et par la faveur des " astres," French. This is a very extraordinary translation, in the Latin. It is substituting one

* P. 40.

thing for another. Yet how faithfully does the French adhere to the Latin, even when this departs moſt widely from the Scotch; marking carefully the print of its ſteps, and treading exactly in them! "Veſtigia nulla *retrorſum*." But the Miſcellaneous Remarker informs us, that "par la faveur des "aſtres" is certainly right, for "par mon mal-"heureux deſtin" goes before *. He might as well have ſaid, that the Latin "ſiderum favore" is certainly right, for "malo meo fato" goes before. The French is derived entirely from the Latin. And both are wrong, becauſe both are different from the Scotch, the true original. This has "the "gude handling of," &c. But the Miſcellaneous Remarker adds, and in the ſame ſtrain of unfortunate argumentation, "there muſt be ſome blunder here." He did not comprehend the meaning of the words. He therefore very naturally choſe rather to impeach the ſenſe of the text, than affront his own underſtanding. The meaning is this: Mary deſires him to lay open his heart to her; or elſe ſhe ſhall ſuſpect, that her own evil fate, and Lady Bothwell's cunning management, have drawn Bothwell from her. "The gude handling of hir" plainly means the good management of Lady Bothwell. So we have in the ſixth letter, "quhat he deſyris for the "*handling* of himſelf;" meaning what inſtructions he wants, for the proper management of himſelf. And the ſame clauſe was actually in the letter, at its original appearance in York; with another

* P. 40.

word in it instead of "handling," but precisely to the same purport. "I pray zou," the sentence then ran,—"to discharge your hart to me, uther-"wayis I will think, that my malheure, and the "guid *composing* of," &c *.

But from this variation in the readings at the York and the Westminster conferences, and from the words of the Latin version, I suspect another variation to have taken place in the passage, and the *original* words to have been *as the Latin read them.* The Latin is too wide from the Scotch at present, to have ever proceeded from mis-printing, mis-reading, or mis-understanding the terms of the latter. The Scotch also appears plainly to have undergone a change, since the conference at York. And the Latin seems to stand as a powerful witness at present, that the Scotch underwent a change preceding this, and that the Latin version was made from it in its primary state. This seems also to be confirmed by another instance of the same nature, but of which the evidence is more positive. "I cum na neirer unto him," says our present copy, "bot in ane chyre at the bed-feit †." "I cum na neirar," said the copy at York, "bot "SAT in ane cheir at the bed-fute ‡." Yet the Latin was made from the York copy, running thus, "non accedo propiùs ad eum, sed in cathedrâ "SEDEO ad pedes ejus." And the French runs accordingly, "je n'approche pas pres de luy, mais je

* Appendix, N° vii. † L. i. §. xx. ‡ Appendix, N° vii.

m'ASSIEDS

" m'ASSIEDS en une chaire a ſes pieds." Theſe facts concur with others to point out a train of *verbal* variations, that were continually made in the letters, and that were much more numerous probably than the *ſubſtantial* alterations which I have noted before. On any ſuppoſition, however, THE FORGERY IS PLAIN. Mary could not write both " gude handling" and " gude compoſing." And ſtill leſs could ſhe write " gude favour of the ſtars," inſtead of both.

" Hir," Scotch; " illas," Latin; " celles," French. Mr. Goodall obſerves, that the Latin has rendered " hir" by " illæ," as if it read *thir* for *their*; and ſubjoins to his obſervation, that " there " are writings of thoſe times ſtill extant, in which " here and there it is hard to diſtinguiſh betwixt the " *h* and the *th*." And the Miſcellaneous Remarker concurs ſo far with him, as to ſay, that " *them*—in " the Scottiſh dialect would be *thir**." But this is a miſtake in both. *Thir* in old Scotch does not mean *them*, but *theſe*. Accordingly, in theſe very letters we have always *thame* for *them*. And in the fifth letter we have *thir* twice for *theſe*. " I dar not " traiſt zour brother," ſays the miſ-repreſented Mary, " with *thir* [theſe] letteris." And " judge " ze," ſhe adds, " quhat amendment *yir* [theſe] " new ceremonies have brocht unto me." But the *original* word in the Scotch of this clauſe was not " hir," but " thame." So it was at the exhibition of the letters in York. " Utherwayis," ſays this oldeſt of all exiſting MSS concerning the letters, " I will think that my malheure, and the guid

* Goodall, i. 90 and 91; and Remarker, 37.

" compoſing

"composing of *thame* that hes not," &c. It was this reading, which made the Latin run equally in the plural number, and drew the French after it. And, as this word concurs with the word adjoining it, to prove other variations in the very *terms* of these pretended originals of Mary's writing, and thus to convict them of forgery at every variation; so the existence of "thame" in the original, at York, and when Buchanan made his translation, and the appearance of "hir" in the copy presented at Westminster, and afterwards published by Cecil, prove Buchanan to have made his translation *before the exhibition at Westminster*. He accordingly presented his translation in MS to Elizabeth and her commissioners, at the very time the letters were exhibited in Westminster *. The letters were determined to be published, at least three of them; and the infamous *Detection* was actually drawn up, with three of them in it; AT THE VERY MOMENT when Murray, and his compartners in villainy, were by a solemn protestation to the commissioners declaring their unwillingness to accuse the Queen, the backwardness which they had hitherto shewn to do it, and the necessity which now forced them upon it at last †. The preceding half of this note even implies Buchanan to have made his version, of the first three at least, *before* the conference at *York*. A determination had probably been *then* formed for the publication. And with a view to this I suppose it was, that Buchanan was named an

* Camden transl. 117, and orig. 144. † Goodall, ii. 203—206.

assistant

assistant to the commissioners, and so made to rank with persons much superior to himself in consequence.

(3) "Faithfull nor willing obedience unto zow "that I beir," Scotch; "fidelitatis, et voluntatis "tibi obsequendi, quam ego habeo," Latin; and "loyauté et volonté que j'ay de vous obeïr," French.

(4) "Hes wyn yat advantage over me," Scotch; "priorem apud te locum gratiæ occupaverint," Latin; and "occupent le premier lieu de faveur," French. How does every instance serve to demonstrate the great point laid down by Mr. Goodall, that the French is only a translation from the Latin! I have not *urged* the evidence upon the reader. I have left it to speak for itself. It has spoken loudly. And the point is clear, beyond a possibility of being obscured by all the powers of sophistry. History shews the French to be a *translation*. The language of the letters shews it to be a translation *from the Latin*. And the translator himself, the best witness in the world for such a fact, acknowledges expressly that he made it from the Latin, *because* he was *ignorant of the Scotch*.

The instances then, that incidentally occur in the French version, of a deviation from the Latin, and a correspondence with the Scotch, can never be attributed to the Frenchman himself. He who had no knowledge of the Scotch, "n'ayant cognoissance "de la langue Escossoise," could not catch any expression from it. He might take names, but he could

could not borrow words. He could not even *conſult* what he did not at all underſtand. He expreſsly tells us, indeed, that he made his tranſlation from the *Latin*, and *entirely* from the Latin, "*tout* ce "que j'ay trouvé en *Latin*." And the few correſpondences that are not merely accidental between the Scotch and the French, when oppoſed to the thouſand between the French and the Latin, can be referred only to the hand of a reviſer; who went over the French verſion, juſt as another or the ſame went over the Latin, to make it more conformable to the Scotch; but went with a wanton and careleſs ſtep, and made ſome ſlight and random corrections of ſingle words, while he left an infinite variety of words and of combinations of words, to ſtand as they ſtood before, all different from the Scotch, and all ſimilar to the Latin.

(5) "Not that," Scotch; "nec hoc eó dico," Latin; "ce que je ne dy," French. "Ane ſa *unhappy as* "*he was*," Scotch; "homine, *eâ quâ ille erat infelici-* "*tate*," Latin; "homme en *l'infelicité qu'il avoit*," French. "Sa *unpietifull* ane woman as ſcho," Scotch; "muliere tam *alienâ a miſericordiâ* quám "illa erat," Latin; and "une femme toute *eſ-* "*loignée de miſericorde*, comme eſtoit celle-la," French.

"Howbeit, ze caus me to be ſumthing lyke unto "hir in ony thing (1) that tuichis zow, or yat may "preſerve

" preſerve and keip zow unto hir, to quhome only
" ze appertene (2); gif it be ſa (3) that I may ap-
" propriate (4) that quhilk is wyn throch faithfull,
" zea, only luifing of zow (5), as I do, and ſall do
" all the dayis of my lyfe (6), for pane or evil that
" can cum thairof (7). In recompenſe of the
" quhilk, and of all the evillis quhilk ze have bene
" caus of to me, remember zow upon the place
" heir beſyde (8)."

" illa erat: quanquam tu me cogis aliquâ ex parte
" ut illi ſim ſimilis omnibus in rebus (1) quæ ad te
" pertinent, aut quæ te ſervare et cuſtodire queant
" illi, cujus unius jure totus es (2): ſiquidem (3)
" id tanquam meum mihi vindicare poſſum (4),
" quod paravi, te unum fideliter, imó unicé aman-
" do (5), quod et facio, et faciam dum vixero (6),
" ſecura omnis laboris et periculi, quæ illinc im-
" pendere poterunt (7). Et ob hæc omnia mala,
" quorum tu mihi cauſa fuiſti, hanc repende gra-
" tiam, ut loci memineris qui híc vicinus eſt (8)."

" me contraignez eſtre en aucune partie ſemblable a
" elle, en toutes les choſes (1) qui vous concernent,
" ou qui vous peuvent garder et conſerver a celle,
" a laquelle ſeule vous eſtes entierement de droict
" (2): car (3) je vous puis m'attribuer comme
" mien (4), qui vous ay acquis ſeul loyaument,
" en vous aimant auſſi uniquement (5), comme je
" fay, et feray tant que je vivray (6), me rendant
" aſſurée contre les travaux et dangers qui en pour-
" ront

" ront advenir (7). Et pour tous ces maux, deſ-
" quels m'avez eſté la cauſe, rendez moy ceſte ſa-
" veur, que vous ayez ſouvenance de lieu qui eſt
" prochain d'icy (8)."

(1) " One thing," Scotch; " omnibus in re-
" bus," Latin; " toutes les choſes," French.

(2) " To quhome only ze appertene," Scotch;
" cujus unius jure *totus* es," Latin; " a laquelle
" ſeule vous eſtes *entierement* de droict," French.

(3) " Gif it *be ſa* that," Scotch, was thus when the letters made their firſt appearance upon Engliſh ground, " yf it *may be ſuer* that *." The Latin renders this by " ſiquidem," and the French abſurdly ſubſtitutes " car" for " ſiquidem."

(4) " Appropriate," Scotch; " tanquam meum
" mihi vindicare," Latin; " m'attribuer comme
" mien," French. The Scotch " verſion," ſays Miſcellaneous Remarker, " is incorrect, and does " no more than aim at the ſenſe of the French †." This gentleman has thrown all his ideas into confuſion, by embracing the ridiculous hypotheſis of Dr. Robertſon concerning a double copy in French, one an original, and the other a tranſlation; and by embracing it without attending to *his* diſtinctions. The *preſent* French, except only a few clauſes at the *head* of the letters, the Doctor himſelf allows to be all a tranſlation, and a tranſlation from the Scotch through the Latin. Yet the Miſcellaneous

* Appendix, N° vii. † P. 40.

Remarker,

Remarker, without knowing it, overleaps all the bars and bounds, that the Doctor had ſet up; and ſpeaks of thoſe paſſages in Scotch as a verſion from the French, which the Doctor himſelf allows to have been an original, a mediate original to the French, and an immediate one to the Latin. So thoroughly confounded and loſt is he in the mazes of his own indiſtinctneſs! And thus the French here, which is apparently nothing more than the Latin reduced into French, he ſets up for the original itſelf. The deviation of the French from the Scotch, particularly in tranſlating "ſiquidem" by "car," which makes nonſenſe of the whole, he attributes to the departure of the Scotch from the French; juſt as children, moving in a coach, attribute their progreſs to the fields and the houſes flying backward from them. And he overlooks entirely the interpoſition of the Latin, betwixt the Scotch and French; which ſhews demonſtrably to our very ſenſes, the level by which the French was fabricated.

(5) "That quhilk is wyn throch faithfull, zea, "only luiſing of zow," Scotch. She means this: if ſhe may appropriate to herſelf, without any rival in Lady Bothwell, that heart of Bothwell's, which ſhe herſelf had gained by a faithful love of him, and of him only. Accordingly the paſſage is rendered thus in the Latin, "quod paravi, te unum "fideliter, imó unicé amando." But the French has made ſtrange work of the Latin, "qui vous ay "acquis ſeul loyaument en vous aimant auſſi "uniquement

' uniquement comme je," &c. The words ſhould ıave run thus, " qui vous ay acquis, en vous aim- ' ant auſſi loyaument et uniquement, comme," &c.; aking a new arrangement, and throwing out the uperfluous " ſeule." The tranſlator was per- ɔlexed by the native obſcurity of the clauſe.

(6) " All the dayis of my lyfe," Scotch; " dum ' vixero," Latin; " tant que je vivray," French.

(7) " For pane or evill that can cum thairof," cotch; " ſecura omnis laboris et periculi quæ illinc impendere poterunt," Latin; " me ren- dant aſſurée contre les travaux et dangers qui en pourront advenir," French. The brevity and ɔrce of the Scotch is ſtrikingly apparent in this, ıd ſome preceding paſſages; when contraſted ·ith the laxity of the Latin and French.

(8) What evils had Bothwell *now* drawn upon Iary? None certainly. This is therefore a proof f forgery, ſpeaking from *poſterior* ideas.—" Ob hæc omnia mala—hanc repende gratiam," La- n; " pour tous ces maux—rendez moy ceſte fa- veur," French; both different from the Scotch the turn of the words.

III.—" I craif with (1) that ze keip promeis to me the morne (2); but that we may meit togidder (2), and that ze gif na faith to ſuſpiciounis with- out the certanetie of thame (3). And I craif na

" uther thing at God, but that ze may knaw that " thing that is in my hart, quhilk is zouris (4); " and that he may preſerve zow from all evill, at " the leiſt ſa lang as I have lyfe; quhilk I repute " not precious unto me, except in ſa far as it and I " baith ar agreabill unto zow. I am going to bed, " and will bid zow gude nicht (5). Advertiſe me " tymely in the morning how ze have fairin (6); " for I"

III.—" Non (1) poſtulo ut cras (2) mihi pro- " miſſa ſerves, ſed ut congrediamur (2), et ut nul- " lam fidem ſuſpicionibus adhibeas, niſi rebus ex- " ploratis (3). Ego veró nihil aliud a Deo peto, " niſi ut ea intelligas quæ ſunt in animo meo, qui " eſt tuus (4); et ut te præſervet ab omni malo, " ſaltem dum mihi ſupererit vita, quam et ego non " duco mihi caram, niſi quatenus et ego et illa tibi " placemus. Ego eo cubitum, et tibi valedico (5). " Fac me certiorem ſummo mane de tuâ valetu- " dine (6);"

III.—" Je ne (1) demande pas que vous me te- " niez promeſſe demain (2); ains que nous nous " aſſemblions (2), et que n'adjouſtiez point de foy " aux ſuſpicions, ſinon l'experience faicte (3). Je " ne demande autre choſe a Dieu, fors qu'entendiez " ce que j'ay en l'eſprit, qui eſt voſtre (4); et " qu'il vous garentiſſe de tout mal, au moins pen- " dant que je ſeray en vie, laquelle je ne tient " point chere, ſinon en tant que moy et elle vous " ſommes agreables. Je m'en vay coucher, et

" vous

" vous dy a Dieu (5). Faites moy certaine de bon " matin de voſtre portement (6)";

(1) " With," Scotch, which is equally in Goodall's and Buchanan's editions, is plainly a miſ-print for " not." The ſenſe requires it. The context demands it. And the two tranſlations have it; " non," Latin, and " ne," French.

(2) This is the day after the evening of the preſent letter, and the day on which ſhe was to meet Bothwell. It was therefore the " Monounday," on which ſhe has already told us ſhe will ſet out, if ſhe does not hear to the contrary from him. She has not heard to the contrary. She therefore ſays nothing of having altered her intention. And ſhe actually ſet out, as the rebel journal itſelf ſhews us, on Monday the 27th of January. She ſet out agreeably to her previous reſolution. To this very reſolution the journal refers us. And on that very day of the week does it make her to ſet out *. This it is of conſequence to note.

(3) " Without the certanetie of thame," Scotch; " niſi rebus exploratis," Latin; " ſinon l'experience " faicte," French.

(4) " Hart," Scotch; " animo," Latin; " eſprit," French; both wrong, but the laſt peculiarly ſo. Her " ſpirit" could not be ſaid to be *his*. Her " mind" could not. But her " hart" might.

(5) This adds to the evidence before, that the

* Appendix, N° x.

third letter pretends to be written late at night. And the night appears above to be that of Sunday, January 26th.

(6) This is very ſtrange. It is now late at night. She is going to bed inſtantly. Her letter therefore could not be ſent till the morning. And yet ſhe deſires him, in this very letter, and in the very next words of it, to apprize her "in the morning," and "tymely," or early in the morning too, how he is. This is ſuch a ſudden daſh of inconſiſtency in the letter, as is ſcarcely to be paralleled, I believe, within the regions of ſanity.

"will be in pane unto I get worde. Mak gude "watch, gif the burd eſchaip out of the caige, or "without hir mate. As the turtur I ſall remane "alone for to lament the abſence, how ſchort yat ſa "ever it be (1). This letter will do with ane gude "hart, that thing quhilk I cannot do myſelf, gif it "be not that I have feir that ze ar in ſleiping (2). "I durſt not wryte this befoir Joſeph, Baſtiane, and "Joachim, that did bot depart evin quhen I began "to wryte (3)."

"ego enim ero in moleſtiâ donec intelligam. Si "avis evaſerit é caveâ, aut ſine compare, velut "turtur ego remanebo ſola, ut lamenter abſentiam "tuam

" tuam quamlibet brevem (1). Hæc epiſtola li-
" benter faciet quod ego ipſa facere non potero,
" niſi forté tu, quod metuo, jam dormias (2). Non
" ſum auſa ſcribere præſentibus Joſepho, Sebaſti-
" ano, et Joachimo, qui nihil aliud [facerent] quám
" diſceſſerant, cúm ego cæpi hæc ſcribere (3)."

" car je ſeray en peine juſques a ce que je l'entende.
" Comme l'oyſeau eſchappé de la cage, ou la tour-
" tre qui eſt ſans compagne, ainſi je demeureray
" ſeule, pour pleurer voſtre abſence, quelque brieve
" qu'elle puiſſe eſtre (1). Ceſte lettre ſera volon-
" tiers ce que je ne pourray faire moy-meſmes, ſi
" d'adventure, comme je crain, vous ne dormez de-
" ſia (2). Je n'ay oſé eſcrire en preſence de Jo-
" ſeph, Sebaſtian, et Joachim, qui ne faiſoient que
" de partir quand j'ay commencé a eſcrire ces
" choſes (3)."

(1) " He who fancies," ſays the Miſcellaneous Remarker, " that there is here a Scottiſh original " and a French copy, may enjoy his opinion in pri- " vate, but he will hardly venture to expoſe it to " the world *." Such is the confidence of confu- ſion! But *mark how a plain tale ſhall put him down.* " Mak gud watch" is omitted in the Latin, and was therefore unknown to the French. It bids Both- well to take good care of himſelf, for the reaſon ſuggeſted before and after it; that ſhe ſhould be in pain till ſhe heard how he was, and that, without

* P. 40.

him, she should be a solitary turtle. This cautious admonition given, a new sentence commences, which goes to the end of the next. And, so pointed, the whole stands thus: "Mak gude watch. Gif "the burd eschaip out of the caige, or without "hir mate, as the turtur I sall remane alone for to "lament the absence, how schort yat sa ever it be." If I am separated from you, says the *actor* of Mary, I shall be like a bird escaped out of a cage, or like a bird that has lost her mate; and I shall remain solitary as the widowed turtle, to lament your absence from me, let it be as short as it will. This then is the "Scotch original." Let us now turn to the "French copy." But we must first look at the Latin, a copy which this gentleman is repeatedly forgetting, though the only original to the French." "Si avis evaserit e caveâ, aut sine com-"pare, velut turtur ego remanebo sola, ut lamenter "absentiam tuam quamlibet brevem." This, we see, is precisely just. The punctuation particularly is the very same, that I have introduced into the Scotch; and shews it to have been in the Scotch originally. But let us now see the French translation of the Latin. "Comme l'oyseau es-"chappé de la cage, ou la tourtre que est sans com-"pagne, ainsi je demeureray seule pour pleurer "vostre absence, quelque brieve qu'elle puisse "estre." This, we see, has retained the punctuation. It has also retained the general sense and imagery. But it has altered them in one circumstance. The words "velut turtur" it chose to read, as prefixed to "sine compare," in order, for-

ſooth, to preſerve the unity of the alluſion. And thus it came to be what it now is, plainly not an original, plainly a verſion of the Scotch, plainly a verſion of it through the medium of the Latin.

But let me add one more obſervation concerning this remarkable paſſage. It was obſcure. It was particularly ſo. It carried a more "viſible" kind of "darkneſs" in it, than moſt of the paſſages about it. And it contained a hint of caution o Bothwell. For theſe reaſons the commiſſioners at York ſingled it out, as a part of the letters peculiarly charged vith villainy. "Finally ſhe wrote to Bothaill," they ſay, "that according to her commiſſion ſhe wolde bringe "the man with her; praying him to worke wiſely, or "elſe the whole burden wolde lye on her ſhoulders; "and *ſpecially* to make good watche, *that* the bird "eſcaped *not* owt of the cage*." This ſhews us very ſtrongly, how lively and powerful their ſuſpicions were, and how unfit they were to ſit in impartial judgment upon the letters. Their imagination, "in a fine frenzy rolling," could "glance" from one letter to another, could ſee bloody ſpectres where a common eye can ſee only love, and could give "a body and a form" at once to theſe their "airy nothings."

(2) This paſſage undoubtedly imports, that the letter was to go to-night, and was to reach Bothwell, perhaps before he ſlept, but certainly before the morning. This therefore may ſeem to excuſe

* Appendix, N° vi.

the abſurdity preceding, of her deſiring him to ſend word early in the morning how he is. But let us conſider all the circumſtances; and then we ſhall ſee, that it is only an additional abſurdity. She has ſat up late with the King. She has returned to her own lodgings. She has diſmiſſed all her attendants there. She has begun to write a letter to Bothwell. And at the cloſe of it ſhe ſays ſhe is going to bed. Who then is to carry the letter? Nobody to-night. She has indeed a *particular* carrier. He is mentioned in the beginning of the letter. She there hints at ſomething "quhilk this "beirer will ſchaw zow." But then this bearer was not to ſet out that evening. He was not to ſet out till the next morning. He was even to wait upon the King firſt. And "I have promyſit," ſays Mary, "to bring him [the bearer] to him [the "King] the morne." Nor let it be ſuppoſed, that as "the morne" means not merely the morning, but the whole of to-morrow, the bearer was to go that night, to return the next day, and then be introduced by Mary to the King. The whole context reprobates the ſuppoſition. "I have walkit "laiter thair up," it ſays, "then I wald have done, "gif it had not bene to draw ſum thing out of him, "QUHILK THIS BEIRER WILL SCHAW ZOW; quhilk "*is the faireſt commoditie that can be offerit to excuſe* "*zour affairis.* I HAVE PROMYSIT TO BRING HIM "TO HIM THE MORNE. *Put ordour to it, gif ze* "*find it gude.*" The bearer was firſt to ſee the King upon the buſineſs, then to relate all that had paſſed to Bothwell, and Bothwell was then to act upon

upon his information, if he found it expedient. And all concurs to ſhew, that the requeſt to hear early in the morning from Bothwell, when the requeſting letter itſelf was not to go till the very morning, is as ridiculous as I have ſtated it to be; and that the hint of the letter kiſſing Bothwell that night, if he is not aſleep before it reaches him, is even more ridiculous, if poſſible, than the other. It was very ridiculous, even if the letter and the bearer were to ſet off inſtantly. At a late hour ſhe had begun to write. At a later it was to be diſpatched. It had to go ſome way to him. Yet it might perhaps reach him, before he had gone to ſleep. And the aſtoniſhing extravagance of the whole is heightened over and over by the conſideration, that Bothwell was at this very time in the diſtant region of Lydiſdale, that this was Sunday January 26th, that he did not *ſet out* on his return from Lydiſdale till Tueſday January 28th, and that he did not meet her till Thurſday January 30th *.

" This letter will do with ane gude hart, that " thing quhilk I cannot do myſelf, gif it be not that " I have feir that ze ar in ſleiping," Scotch. " Here," ſays Miſcellaneous Remarker, " the reader " is entreated to try, whether he can make any ſenſe " of the Scottiſh copy †." But is not the ſenſe very obvious for one of thoſe alluſive ſentences, in which the principal point is *underſtood* and not expreſſed? It certainly is. And now let us try the French. " C'eſt lettre fera volontiers ce que je ne

* Appendix N° x. † P. 41.

" pourray

" pourray faire moy-meſme, ſi *d'adventure*, comme " je crain, vous ne dormez deſia." This is plainly the ſame in expreſſion and in meaning. Only it adds one word, " d'adventure." Shall " the " reader" then be " entreated to try, whether he " can make any ſenſe of the *French* copy?" He needs not. Every reader, except the Miſcellaneous Remarker, can make ſenſe of both. Yet, " for " my own part, I am perſwaded," ſays the Remarker, " that the tranſlator rendered into the " Scottiſh language words and phraſes, which he " underſtood when ſeparately taken, but not when " taken altogether." But his own evidence ſays directly the contrary. This very paſſage ſhews the Scotch to be exactly as the French, one word excepted; and not merely in words " ſeparately taken," but in phraſes " taken altogether." And he totally forgets the Latin, though the French was derived from it, and though it betrays its derivation by its additional word: " hæc epiſtola libenter fa- " ciet quod ego ipſa facere non potero, niſi *forté* tu, " quod metuo, jam dormias."

(3) " Did bot depart," Scotch; " nihil aliud " [facerent] quàm diſceſſerant," Latin; and " ne " faiſoient que de partir," French. The preſs had omitted " facerent" in the Latin. But it was in the *MS.* And from *this* the French took it, as it took " *que* par breuvage" from " *quàm* per medici- " nam," when the printed copy was only " per me- " dicinam."

Of the three perſons here mentioned as attendants upon

upon the Queen, Joſeph was brother to that David, whoſe murder muſt have fixed ſuch a deep ſtain of diſgrace upon the reputation of Scotland, in the eyes of all foreign nations, at the time. He entered Scotland the 20th of April after the murder, in the train of the French embaſſadour *. He firſt acted as ſecretary in his brother's place †. He afterwards became the Queen's goldſmith ‡. Hence Darnly is made to aſk, whether Mary meant to diſmiſs Joſeph from her ſervice ‖; as if his Majeſty had taken ſome diſlike to him. And he, together with "Francis Baſtiane" here mentioned, whoſe full name was Francis Sebaſtian de Villars, and with "John de Bourdeous [Bourdeaux]," the "Joa-"chim" perhaps of the letter, as John was equally with Joachim one of the Queen's houſhold; was accuſed on ſuſpicion of the King's murder by Lenox, under the title of "Joſeph, Dauryis [David's] "brother §." He alſo appears, from Paris's ſecond mock-confeſſion, to have been frightened at a real or pretended ſummons to appear before the parliament; and, with a prudence that was quickened probably by the unhappy fate of his brother, to have left the regions of barbariſm and of murder by a haſty flight ⸸.

But, before I cloſe my remarks upon the preſent letter, let me advert again to an expreſſion at the head of it. "I have," ſays the mimicker of Mary there, "walkit laiter thair up then I wald have

* Keith, App. 129. † Robertſon, ii. 359. ‡ Anderſon, ii. 157. ‖ L. i. §. 6. § Anderſon, i. 48; and Crawford 41. See alſo Spotſwood, 200. ⸸ Goodall, ii. 84.

"done."

"done." These words carry a more than ordinary signification with them. They mean not, as at first we are apt to suppose they do, *I have waked up later there*, but with a sense much more emphatical, *I have waked there-up later*. THAIR-UP is the very same form of expression, with our UP THERE; when, with a reference to our own ideas, or to the conversation at the moment, we say of a place, that we have been *up there*. It therefore means not, that the Queen had "waked up" with the King in the King's apartment. It means more specifically, that she had "waked" with him in his apartment *above*. This the very arrangement of the words shews us; "I have *walkit laiter thair up* then I "wald have done." This therefore the corrected Latin, the French, and Dr. Robertson, all understand them to import. And the French, "j'aye "veillé plus tard *la-haut*," is particularly expressive. This then being the sense of the words, how are we to apply them? To the relative situation of the King's and Queen's apartments at Glasgow? But let us see, where they respectively lodged. I have already shewn, that they were not in the same house. The Queen, no doubt, lodged in the archi-episcopal palace; while the King certainly lay at Lord Lenox's. She was attended to Glasgow, as I have shewn before, by "all the Hamiltons." She was accompanied from Glasgow, as Buchanan shews, by the Hamiltons again, and by the archbishop of St. Andrew's, for one of them. She therefore lodged with her train in the palace at Glasgow, the archi-episcopal owner being at that time her embassador in France. This is upon the highest ground of the city,

city, being close to the cathedral; while the house, in which Darnly lodged, is still pointed out by tradition, and lies upon the descent from it. And therefore Mary could not possibly allude to the King's lodgings at Glasgow, by the words "thair "up;" as she could not possibly call them the apartments *above*. To what then does she refer by the words? She refers to this. The forger of the letter, with all that carelessness of confidence, which I have noted so frequently before, and shall note so frequently hereafter, laboured here under a confusion of ideas from the perplexities of his memory. He imagined himself to be writing a letter for her at *Kirk-a-field*, while he was actually writing one at Glasgow. He did write her one afterwards from Kirk-a-field. She *then* "ludged all "nycht *under the King*, in the chalmer quhairin," &c.; "and *from thence* wrayt that same *nycht*" to the King. *Then* therefore she might with the utmost propriety say, as she says here, that she had waked to a late hour "thair-up," *up there*, or in the apartments *above*. *Then* only *could* she point at the King's apartments, by such a relative allusion. And, as the forger has thus placed the Queen at Kirk-a-field, when by his own account she was at Glasgow; he has sufficiently betrayed his forgery by his forgetfulness again *.

* Detection, 15 and 65, Anderson, ii. 242, and Jebb, i. 259; Keith, 330; and App. No x. And Buchanan, Hist. xviii. 351, says of Kirk-a-field and Mary, "Ibi ipsa aliquot," "noc-"tus, *extracto in longum colloquio*, conquievit."

§ III.

§ III.

LETTER THE FOURTH (1).

I.—" My hart, alace! muſt the foly of ane wo-
" man, quhais unthankfulnes toward me ze do ſuf-
" ficiently knaw, be occaſioun of diſpleſure unto
" zow, conſidering yat I culd not have remeidit
" thairunto without knawing it (2)? And ſen that
" I perſavit it, I culd not tell it zow, for that I knew
" not how to governe myſelf thairin (3); for nou-
" ther in that, nor in ony uther thing, will I tak
" upon me to do ony thing without knawledge or
" zour will, quhilk I beſeik zow let me underſtand
" (4); for I will follow it all my lyfe, mair willingly
" than zow ſall declair it to me:"

I.—" Mon cœur, hélas! faut-il que la folie
" d'une femme, dont vous cognoiſſez aſſez l'ingra-
" titude vers moy, ſoit cauſe de vous donner deplai-
" ſir, veu que je n'y pouvoye mettre remede, ſans
" le donner a cognoiſtre (2)? Et depuis que je
" m'en ſuis apperçuë, je ne le vous pouvoye dire,
" pour ce que je ne ſçavoye pas comme m'y gou-
" verner (3). D'autant qu'en cecy, ny en autre
" choſe, je ne veux point entreprendre de rien
" faire, ſans que je cognoiſſe quelle eſt voſtre vo-
" lonté

" lonté (4); que je vous ſupplie me faire entendre; " car je l'executeray tout ma vie, voire plus volon- " tiers que ne me le voudriez declarez [declarer]:"

(1) *When* and *where* does this letter pretend to be written? It is one of the four from Glaſgow. The rebel journal ſays, that Mary there " wrayt hir " bylle and *uther letteris* to Bothwell." The bylle we know to be the firſt. The " uther letteris" muſt be two or three at leaſt. And as this letter ſhews itſelf to be one of the four, by mentioning ſome- thing " quhilk micht be hurtfull to that quhairunto " baith we do tend," the marriage by means of the murder; ſo the next, or fifth, letter ſhews itſelf clearly to be written from another quarter. Yet when was it written at Glaſgow? The Queen ſtaid at Glaſgow from Thurſday January 23d, when ſhe arrived there, till Monday morning January 27th, when ſhe ſet out on her return. Of this time the *firſt* letter has occupied Friday and Saturday nights, January 24th and 25th. The ſecond is perhaps written on Sunday morning, January 26th; though it pretends to be written on Saturday morning Ja- nuary 25th, which is impoſſible to be true. The *third* is written late at night, and on Sunday night, January 26th. And where then is there any room for the *fourth?* NOWHERE CERTAINLY. The rebels had once calculated their letters from Glaſgow, to be three for the three days. Their own journal makes them only three or four. JUST THREE WERE ACTUALLY PRODUCED AT YORK. The intimation alſo in the third, of meeting Both-

well

well the next day, ſhews this to have been THE CLOSER OF THE WHOLE. Thus the firſt was deſigned for Friday evening; the ſecond for Saturday morning, as it ſtill is dated; and the third for Sunday evening, as in the evening it pretends to have been written. And the letters appear, from the rebel journal, to have actually been ſo once. "January 24th [Friday]," it ſays, "the Quene re-"maynit at Glaſcow, lyck as ſhe did the 25th [Sa-"turday] and 26th [Sunday];—and IN THIS TYME "wrayt hir bylle and uther letteris to Bothwell." But *Hyperion croſſed the forgery* afterwards. He blaſted it with the humour of correction. Alterations were made in the original letters. The original plan was overlooked in the amendments. Even a fourth letter was ſubjoined to the reſt. And the whole chronology was thrown into ſuch confuſion, that the firſt letter extended itſelf into the place of the ſecond as well as its own; that the ſecond was apparently written on Sunday, while its date aſſigned it to Saturday; and that the fourth was added—when there was no room for it in time. This preſents us with a fine picture of the natural confuſedneſs of villainy. Confounded by the workings of its own guilty fears, the cleareſt underſtanding becomes muddled. A Lethington ſinks into a driveler. And even the large intellect of an angel, is ſhrunk up into the narrow comprehenſions of a devil.

(2) The ſtory alluded to in this letter ſeems to tell us the reaſon, why it was written. It hints at one

one of the Queen's gentlewomen, who had been ungrateful to her, now proving pregnant by a gentleman of her train. And she intimates that she will make him *marry* her. Now Francis Sebastian, a Frenchman whom she mentions in her third letter as then present at Glasgow, was actually married the Sunday but one afterwards. His coming marriage is also hinted at in the first letter, when it is said of the King, that "he spak evin of *the mar-*
"*riage of Bastiane.*" And what makes it the more memorable, and is, I apprehend, the leading clue to the fourth letter, he was married at Holyrood-house *that very night* in which *the King was blown up*, and the Queen gave a banquet and a masque *that night* in honour of the wedding. "Upon the Sounday "at nycht," says Thomas Nelson in his depositions before the commissioners of England, "efter sche "[the Queen] had taryd lang, and intertened the "King very familiarlie, sche tuk purpois (as it had "bene on the suddan) and departed, as sche spak, "*to gif the mask* to *Bastyane*, quha *that nicht wes* "*mareit* *." Mary confirms the substance of this account, in a letter which she wrote the next day; as she says, that she "of very chance taryit not all "night, be reason of *sum mask in the abbaye* †." And, after two such testimonies, I may venture to quote Buchanan, who says, that "this Sebastiane "was ane Arvernois, a man in greit favour with the "Quene for his cunning in musike and his merie "jesting, and was maryit the same day ‡." But

* Goodall, ii. 245. † Keith, Pref. viii. ‡ Anderson, ii. 22, and Jebb, i. 244.

whom did he marry? The last author will tell us, if we suppose Sebastian to be the *man* of this letter. The *woman* of it, says Buchanan *, was "Mar-"garet Carwood." And a fourth letter was added after the York conference, in order to dwell upon the incident which produced this marriage, and so lead the thoughts of all who recollected the transactions, and remembered their connection, to the very night of the murder at once.

The Latin version by Buchanan going no farther, I wish to observe concerning it, that the numerous errors in it coincide exactly with the historical evidence, which I have given in the former volume; and prove it impossible for Buchanan, however he has been almost invariably supposed to the present day, to have been the original author of the letters. He could not have mis-understood what he wrote himself. He peculiarly could not so repeatedly and so grossly have mis-understood it, as he does. And the blunders of the Latin letters concur directly with the testimony of facts, to lay the guilt of this most impudent of all impudent forgeries upon the head of another.

We have thus, however, lost the very beneficial assistance of the Latin. But we have made such use of it already, that we can very well spare it at present. It is made demonstrably clear from the very collation of the two versions, Latin and French, that the French is only a version of the Latin. It has *appeared* so in all the *three* letters

* Anderson, ii. 150, and Jebb, i. 342.

before,

before. It must be so therefore, in *the remaining five*. And the very translator himself acknowledges expressly, that it was so in *all*. Yet the Miscellaneous Remarker labours hard to prove, *he is mistaken*; to prove the translator *did not translate* from the *Latin*, as he said he did; to prove he *did not translate at all*; to prove he unknowingly *wrote down the original*, when all the while he thought he was translating. This is of all ridiculous hypotheses the most ridiculous. It is an extravagance beyond the flight of Moorfields. And yet it is literally such as I have described it to be. The author indeed overlooks entirely the Frenchman's confession. He seems to be ignorant of it. But he flies directly in the face of it. And he thus becomes chargeable with all the wildness of execution, that I have imputed to him. With this wildness has he gone over the second and third letters. With this does he also go over the remaining five. "There is no evi-"dence," he says, "that *they* were ever translated "into Latin at all; an important circumstance, "which Mr. Goodall and the author of the En-"quiry [Mr. Tytler] have in great measure over-"looked *." That they *were* translated, however, has been decisively proved, I trust, in the antecedent parts of the present work. But, for greater satisfaction, I have lately produced the proving passage again. It is in that very confession of the Frenchman's, which is of so much consequence in itself. The letters, says this translator, were

* P. 25.

" traduictes *entierement* en Latin;" and he tranſlated into French, he adds, " *tout* ce que j'ay trouvé en " Latin." And yet the Miſcellaneous Remarker is ſo ignorant of this, that he ſays " there is no evi- " dence" the five laſt letters " were ever tranſlated " into Latin." They were *all* tranſlated. Had they *not* been, we *ſhould not have had* this French tranſlation at preſent, to conteſt the palm of originality with the Scotch. The tranſlator owns himſelf to have been quite ignorant of the language, in which the *true* original was written. He had no knowledge of the Scotch, he ſays; " n'ayant cog- " noiſſance de la langue Eſcoſſoiſe."

Having ſtated this important point for the laſt time, I truſt; I now trace the ſteps of the Remarker, with the ſame attention that I have ſhewn before. " Muſt the foly," Scotch; " faut-il que la folie," French. " Faut-il que," French, obſerves the Remarker, " does not mean *muſt* but *ought* or *ſhould*; and " that is the ſenſe of the writer*." If the French did not properly expreſs the meaning of the Scotch original, the blame muſt be charged to the French tranſlation. But it does expreſs it ſufficiently, *according to his own account*, and even in *oppoſition* to it. " Faut-il que" means " ſhould," he ſays; and *muſt* in this connection means the ſame. And " il " faut" accordingly means either *muſt* or *ſhould*. " Without knowing it," Scotch; " ſans le donner " a cognoiſtre," French. The Scotch, ſays the Remarker, " is an expreſſion altogether unintel-

* P. 26.

" ligible."

" ligible *." Yet the language is ſurely very plain. The Queen ſays, that ſhe could not have remedied a misfortune in her houſhold " without knowing " it." This is one of the plaineſt propoſitions, that ever were preſented to the human mind. Yet the Remarker finds it " altogether unintelligible."

Not to know me argues yourſelf unknown.

But the French alters this into a propoſition more intelligible to *him*, that ſhe could not remedy it without diſcloſing it to others. This is certainly not *more* intelligible. And it is *leſs* true. The next words ſhew it to be abſolutely falſe. " I culd " not have remeidit thairunto," ſays the writer, " without knawing it; and *ſen* that *I perſavit it*, I " culd not tell it zow."

(3) This preſents us with a glorious flouriſh of the forger's pen. Mary has the misfortune to find, that one of her maids of honour is with child by a gentleman in her retinue. Bothwell hears of the fact, at the diſtance of Edinborough or of Lydiſdale. Court-ſcandal *then* flew with rapidity, it ſeems, without the aid of a *Morning Poſt* or an *Engliſh Chronicle*. Bothwell is much *hurt* at the news. The *adulterous* Bothwell is hurt at an intrigue of *fornication* in the Queen's family, in the family of that very Queen *with whom* he is carrying on an adulterous intrigue. He is hurt too with an intrigue in that very Margaret Carwood, who (according to Buchanan) " was previe and ane helper " of all thair lufe †," and had even been con-

* P. 26. † Anderſon, ii. 150.

cerned with the Queen and Lady Reres in a kind of rape upon himſelf *. And the *plotting murderer*, even in the very moments of plotting, and nearly at the critical minute of the murder, writes in ſuch ſharp terms upon the fornication to his partner in adultery and in murder; as forces her to break out abruptly, at the very commencement of her letter, in theſe terms of anguiſh, " my hart, alace! muſt " the foly of ane woman be occaſioun of diſpleſure " unto zow?" This is certainly a note above *Ela*, in the ſcale of abſurdity.

It appears however from this, that Mary has heard from Bothwell, while ſhe reſided at Glaſgow. Yet how could ſhe? He left her on Thurſday January 23 at Kalendar. He returned that day to Edinborough. He ſet off the next for Lydiſdale. And he is ſtill there. So abſurd upon every examination does the chronology appear! But this is not all. Mary has received this letter ſince her laſt. The laſt was written the evening before ſhe was to meet him. It was written late at night. She was to meet him the next day. She had heard from him then, to fix the appointment for next day. She has now heard from him ſince. She has therefore heard on Monday, the day ſhe was to meet him, and the day that ſhe actually left Glaſgow. And ſhe is writing to him, at the time that *by the letters* ſhe ſhould be with him, and at the time when ſhe was *actually* on the road to, or now arrived at, Kalendar. So much *more* abſurd does the chronology appear, upon further examination!

* Anderſon, ii. 8, and Jebb, i. 240.

But

But Mary says, that she could not *tell* Bothwell of the intrigue, because she did not know how to act concerning it. Yet in the letter immediately preceding she has informed us, that he had "commanded" and she had "promised" neither to write nor send to him. The two passages are strangely at variance. He "commands" and she "promises" not to write or send. She adheres to the stipulation,—in writing *two* letters to him, and one an exceedingly long one. But she had *then* forgotten the stipulation perhaps. She *at last* recollects it. She recollects it *to break it.* She mentions it in the very instant she is breaking it. The *third* letter records at once the promise and the violation. Nor does she stop there. She breaks it a *fourth* time. She writes *four* letters in three days, when she was commanded and had promised not to write a line, and not even to send a message. And she does all this, not to consult him upon any incidents that had emerged since the command and the promise were given, but merely to proclaim the adultery, to insinuate the murder, and to display her wantonness, her wickedness, and her stupidity, at once, in an *unsealed* letter.

(4) Thus is Mary made responsible to Bothwell, for the pettiest actions of her life. She cannot have the misfortune of an intrigue in her court, but Bothwell rates her for it. She is taxed for not remedying it. She is condemned for not apprizing him of it, even when he himself had charged her not to write or send to him. She finds him in displea-

ſure about it. She is much wounded in her feelings by all. And ſhe deprecates his diſpleaſure in the loweſt terms of humility. Yet Dr. Robertſon and Mr. Hume could ſee the real Mary in all this. They could ſee no difference between a *Caliban* and a *man*. And even though the repreſentation had been charged with ſtill greater abſurdities, if it was poſſible to charge it with greater; they would ſtill (I fear) have reconciled themſelves to the ſight, and have ſtill diſcovered all the natural proportions of the man under the "gaberdine" of the monſter.

II.—"And gif ze do not ſend me word this "nicht (1) quhat ze will that I ſall do, I will red "myſelf of it, and haſard to caus it to be interpryſit "and takin in hand, quhilk micht be hurtfull to "that quhairunto baith we do tend (2). And "quhen ſcho ſall be maryit (2), I beſeik zow to "give me ane (3), or ellis I will tak ſic as ſall "content zow for thair conditiounis (4); bot "as for thair toungis or faithfulneſs towart zow, I "will not anſwer."

II.—"Que ſi vous ne me mandez des nouvelles "ceſte nuit (1), de ce que voulez que je face, je "m'en depeſcheray, et me hazarderay de l'entre-"prendre, ce que pourroit nuire a ce que nous deſ-"ſeignons tous deux (2). Et quand elle ſera "mariée (2), je vous prie de m'en donner une autre "(3),

" (3), ou bien j'en prendray quelqu'une, dont " j'eſtime que la façon vous contentera (4); mais " quant a leur langue et fidelité envers vous, je " n'en voudroye pas reſpondre."

(1) This letter then pretends, like the two parts of the firſt, and like the whole of the third, to be written in the night. It thus enables us to detect the impoſture, even more clearly than we have already done. The firſt being written in the firſt two nights, thoſe of Friday and Saturday; the third could not be written before Sunday night, or the fourth before *Monday night*. The laſt therefore was written from Glaſgow, when by the *ſecond* letter ſhe was to be at Cragmillar near Edinborough, and by the journal ſhe was actually at Kalendar near Falkirk. And, to enhance the folly, ſhe ſpeaks of the night as already come, in calling it " *this* nicht," and yet deſires Bothwell to ſend her word in " this *nicht*;" when by the *third* letter he was to be with her at this very time, and by the journal he was actually in Lydiſdale.

(2) This alludes to the maid of honour, or her corrupter, or both, being privy to the adultery now carried on, and to the murder ſpeedily intended. Margaret Carwood, ſays Buchanan, was deeply concerned in the adultery. But as the maid of honour is ſaid before to have been one, whoſe unthankfulneſs to Mary was ſufficiently known by Bothwell; and as the forced marriage could be offenſive only to her corrupter; we muſt refer the intimation

intimation to him. Accordingly, when Lenox, in his folly of relying upon anonymous accusations, specified some persons whom he suspected of the murder, he named "Seignior Francis Bastian *." And when the rebels, the very night of sending the Queen to Lochlevin, made a general search through the capital for the murderers of the king, Sebastian was seized among others, and committed to prison †.—"I will red myself of it," Scotch; "Je "m'en depescheray," French. The sense is, says the Miscellaneous Remarker, "*I will make haste to* "*do it*, that is, *I will instantly dismiss the wo-* "*man* ‡." And this is to be a probable proof, that the French is the original, and the Scotch a translation, against such an accumulation of evidence to the contrary. But the Scotch Mary says, that she will *rid herself* of the business, and the French Mary, that she will *dispatch* it. These are expressions too nearly alike, to found any criticisms upon a variation between them. Of the two, the Scotch is the most proper, as it is always used for a troublesome business. But the meaning of either is not, that she will instantly dismiss the woman; but that she will make the gentleman to marry her. The words immediately following, "and quhen scho sall be maryit," shew this to be the meaning. But she says, that she will "hasard "to caus it to be interpryst and takin in hand," Scotch; "me hazarderay de l'entreprendre," French. "Where," exclaims the Miscellaneous

* Anderson, i. 48. † Crawford, 41. ‡ P. 26.

Remarker,

Remarker, " is the happy turn of phraſe here? " Let any reader, converſant in the two languages, " pronounce which is the original, and which the " tranſlation *." We already know the Scotch to be the original, and the French the tranſlation, even a tranſlation from the Latin. We are not therefore left to ſuch petty ſpeculations as theſe, for the proof of the point. But, knowing it already, we think it of ſome uſe to ſet theſe objections aſide with an eaſy hand. Mary ſays that, if ſhe does not hear this night from Bothwell, ſhe will undertake the buſineſs at her own hazard, and *cauſe* the matter to be enterpriſed and taken in hand. In other words, and freed from that obſcurity which pervades all theſe letters, and which is the natural conſequence of a forger's fears, willing to ſpeak out, and yet compelled to whiſper; ſhe ſays ſhe will inſtantly ſend a meſſage to Sebaſtian, and inſiſt upon his marrying the maid of honour, even though ſhe offend him by doing ſo, and loſe his ſervices in the projected murder. She would cauſe *the marriage* to be enterprized and taken in hand. That the ſecond *it* refers to the marriage underſtood, is plain from the words immediately following, " and " quhen ſcho ſall be maryit." And yet the French, catching the real ſignification as little as the Remarker, makes the Queen to " hazard the enter- " prizing of it," to *hazard the marriage herſelf*.

(3) " Ane," Scotch; " une autre," French. The *addition* here is noted by the Remarker †, as a

* P. 26—27. † P. 27.

proof

proof of the originality of the French; when the *deduction* was before. "Thy truth, moſt mighty "Lord," ſaid a madman once in defence of contrary propoſitions, "is on *every* ſide."

(4) "Conditiounis," Scotch; "façon," French. This is another of the Remarker's proofs. The force of it lies only in his own prepoſſeſſions. He is to *prove* the French the original. Yet *even amidſt his proofs* he will *ſuppoſe* it to be ſo. And then every variation is an error in the Scotch. Such is this gentleman's logic! "Façon" is erroneouſly tranſlated "conditiounis:" ergo, &c. He was bred, I ſuſpect, in the logical ſchool of the Socinian PRIESTLEY, and in the very *Antipodes* of all true reaſoning.

III.—"I beſeik zow yat ane opiniouη of uther "perſoun (1) be not hurtfull in zour mynde to my "conſtancie (2). Miſtruſt me; bot (3) quhen I "will put zow out of dout and cleir myſelf, refuſe "it not, my deir luſe (4), and ſuffer me to mak "zow ſum pruſe be (5) my obedience, my (6) "faithfulneſs, conſtancie, and voluntarie ſubjecti-"oun, quhilk I tak for the pleſandeſt gude that I "micht reſſaif, gif ze will accept it, and mak na "ceremonie at it (7); for ze culd do me na greiter "outrage, nor gif mair mortall greif (8)."

III.—

III.—" Je vous ſupplie, que l'opinion d'une " autre (1) n'eſloingne voſtre affection de ma con- " ſtance (2). Vous meffiez vous de moy (3), qui " vous veux mettre hors de doute, et declarer mon " innocence, o ma chere vie (4), ne le refuſez pas, " et ne ſouffrez que je vous donne eſpreuve de (5) " mon obeiſſance (6), fidelité, conſtance, et volon- " taire ſubjection, que je prend a tres grand plaiſir, " autant que je le puis avoir, ſi vous l'acceptez ſans " ceremonie (7), car vous ne me ſcauriez faire " plus grand outrage, ny offence plus mortelle (8)."

(1) Lady Bothwell's opinion of Mary's inconſtancy.

(2) " Be not hurtfull in zour mynde to my con- " ſtancie," Scotch; that is, do not injure the credit of my conſtancy in your good opinion. Yet the French renders the clauſe, " n'eſloingne voſtre af- " fection de ma conſtance," that is, do not *alienate* your *affection from* my conſtancy; a mode of expreſſion, if any way proper in itſelf, certainly very improper as a verſion of the Scotch.

(3) " Miſtruſt me; bot quhen," Scotch; " vous " meffiez vous de moy, qui," French. The French, ſays Miſcellaneous Remarker *, " is as clear as " words can be, when the thing alluded to is not " certainly known;" and the Scotch, he adds, is " words without energy, and indeed without mean- " ing." The ſenſe of the Scotch is this: miſtruſt me if you will, but do not deny me the favour of

* P. 27.

clearing

clearing myſelf, and removing all your doubts. I know not, what "energy" there is in this; but there is "a meaning" in it. Let us therefore now compare the French with the Scotch. You diſtruſt me, it ſays, who would remove your doubts. Here the meaning is equally good, though ſomewhat different. But let us purſue the line of ſenſe to the end. "Vous meffiez vous de moy, qui vous veux mettre "hors de doute, et declarer mon innocence, o ma "chere vie, ne le refuſez pas." Here, for want of the words in the Scotch, "bot quhen," and ſo by turning "I" into "qui," the thread of connection is broken, and the ſentence limps upon its legs. Yet the French, ſays the Remarker, "is as clear as "words can be," and the Scotch is "without mean-"ing."

(4) "My deir luſe," Scotch; "ma chere vie," French. Here the Remarker might have ſeen *in his own way*, which was the original, and which was the tranſlation. "Vie" could never be miſtaken for "amie," but "luſe" might eaſily be miſtaken for "life." The Latin read the Scotch wrong, rendered it *vita*, and ſo gave "vie" to the French.

(5) "*Be* my obedience," Scotch; "*de* mon "obeiſſance," French. But let us mark the train of ideas here. Mary beſeeches him not to think ill of her *conſtancy*, "be not hurtfull in zour mynde to "my CONSTANCIE." He may miſtruſt her *conſtancy*, ſhe ſays, but when ſhe attempts to vindicate *it*, ſhe begs he will hear her; and ſuffer her to ſhew her *conſtancy* in her conduct to him. "Suffer me

" to mak zow ſum prufe," ſhe ſays, " be my obe-
" dience, my faithfulneſs, CONSTANCIE, and volun-
" tarie ſubjectioun." She thus requeſts to give a proof of her conſtancy—by her conſtancy.

(6) " My," Scotch, omitted in French.

(7) " Si vous l'acceptez ſans ceremonie," ſays Remarker *, " is thus ungracefully rendered,
"" gif ze will accept it, and mak na ceremonie at
"" it."" So trifling is this author, in his probable proofs for the originality of the French! If any real or ſuppoſed *ungracefulneſs* of language would prove the point even probably, it could not have borne a moment's argumentation. Could that balance remain long unſettled, which a mote would turn? Yet even theſe motes are more in the mind's eye, than in reality. The preſent particularly is. If the Scotch had been, " gif ze will accept it *bot ony* ce-
" remonie," it would have been a little, and only a little, more *compact*, but not more graceful, than it is at preſent. And then the French would have been literally conformable to it. Let me only add, as punctuation is of ſome conſequence, that I have taken the liberty of pointing the ſentence as it now ſtands. Before, it ſtood thus, " accept it; and mak
" na ceremonie at it, for."

(8) This is ſurely the very *bathos* of humiliation. Mary is made to declare, that for Bothwell to *let* her give *ſome* proof of her love, by her *obedience*, faithfulneſs, conſtancy, and *voluntary ſubjection*, ſhe

* P. 27.

ſhall

ſhall take for the greateſt happineſs that ſhe can receive; and that if he makes *any* heſitation about accepting this proof, it will be to her the greateſt of all poſſible outrages, and the ſharpeſt of all poſſible ſorrows. This is love "mounted to the lunar "ſphere" at once. And it will appear peculiarly ſo, when we reflect, that this is ſaid *during the life of her huſband*, without any reſerve concerning his death, and without one anticipation of approaching widowhood.

Let me add alſo, with regard to the main incident in the preſent letter, that this alone ſerves to prove the forgery. The marriage of Francis Sebaſtian is certainly the marriage alluded to. The coincidence of the firſt and fourth letter ſhews it. But then the firſt ſhews the fourth to be ſpurious. The fourth repreſents the marriage as only intended now for the firſt time, as intended now from a ſudden and recent diſcovery, as hardly yet intended fully and abſolutely, and as unknown, even in the very cauſe and principle of all, to Bothwell himſelf. Yet the firſt ſhews the marriage to be *then* intended, to be *then* known to be ſo, and to be known even to the King and to Bothwell. And the contradiction bewrays the impoſture effectually.

§ IV.

§ IV.

I have thus gone over the letters from Glaſgow. That they are fictitious, is too plain, I apprehend, to be doubted at preſent by any man of common ſenſe. The evidence in this volume alone, is ſufficient to convict them of impoſture, in the eyes of all the world. The chronology, particularly, muſt ſtand as a deep and broad brand of knavery upon their front, to the end of time. But to make the brand ſtill broader and deeper, let us attend to another chronology. This is contained in the *ſecond* of the pretended confeſſions of Paris, which was peculiarly drawn up in order to ſtrengthen the letters *, and ought therefore to be conſidered together with them †. Mr. Tytler had the honour of firſt opening this ſource of information againſt the letters; but afterwards cloſed it again, by withdrawing his remarks in a ſucceeding edition of his work ‡. I intend to break up the fountain a ſecond time, and then trace the current to its termination. And, by doing this, I ſhall at once confirm the ſpuriouſneſs of the letters, and prove that of the confeſſion itſelf.

* Goodall, ii. 88. † See it in Goodall, ii. 76—79.
‡ See his Appendix, N° ii. ſuperſeded in 3d edition by other papers.

Nicholas Hubert, commonly called French Paris, or only Paris, entered first into credit with the Queen, as he tells us himself, "entra en credit avec "la Royne," when she was at Kalendar on her way to Glasgow, "comme la Royne fust a Kalendar al-"lant a Glasgow." This was by the rebel journal on Thursday January 23, 1566-7. She then gave him a purse with three or four hundred crowns in it, to be carried by him to Bothwell. This was done upon the road betwixt Kalendar and Glasgow, "sur le chemin entre Kalendar et Glasgow." But why was it given him *there?* To make haste after Bothwell, to be sure; to overtake him on his return to Edinborough; and so do, what the Queen ought to have done in the morning at Kalendar, before he left her. Yet this was *not* the design, it seems. The purse was given to Paris upon the road, not to post with it immediately after Bothwell; but—to carry it *whither the Queen herself was going*, to *Glasgow*; and merely to save *her* the trouble, of carrying thither so many hundred crowns in her own pocket. And this was done *openly*, and in the presence of all her retinue, "sur le chemin;" though she had gentlemen and ladies in her train, Joseph the brother of David Rizzio, Francis Sebastian, Joachim, and her maids of honour.

Paris thus attended her Majesty, as her privy purse, to Glasgow. "La Royne estant arrivée a "Glasgow," he staid there TWO days for a letter, which she said she would send by him to Bothwell. "Ayant demeuré là DEUX jours avec la dicte "dame, laquelle escript des lettres, et a luy les "bailla,

" bailla, dyſant, Vous dires de bouche a Monſ. de " Boduel, que," &c. He ſtaid therefore at Glaſgow, *Friday* the 24th and *Saturday* the 25th of January, before he ſet off with any letter to Bothwell. This agrees exactly, as we have ſeen before, with the internal chronology of the *firſt* letter. And it overthrows the date of the *ſecond* deciſively. Paris ſays himſelf, that he ſet not off with the *firſt* before Sunday morning, THE DAY AFTER the date of the *ſecond*.

With this letter he ſet out. He reached Edinborough. He does not ſay *when*. But it could not be till *Monday*. The diſtance between Glaſgow and Edinborough, by the route which was generally purſued then, and through Stirling *, is 66 miles, I believe. And it appears from the circumſtances to have been, what from the ſeaſon of the year and ſtate of the weather it might well be, the former being " the deip of a ſcharpe wynter," as Buchanan has told us before, and the latter being " the extremitie of this ſtormy weather," as Lenox has equally told us; the *evening* of Monday before he arrived. For he delivers the letter; and the next day, " le lendemain," comes three ſeveral times, at eight, nine, and ten in the morning, for the anſwer to it. Yet Mary is made in the *ſecond* letter, dated *Saturday morning*, to expect his arrival *then*; though he was not then GONE, though he ſet

* The Queen went this road. Lenox went it, when on his way from Glaſgow he ſtopt ſhort at Stirling, and requeſted the Queen to defer the trial of Bothwell (Anderſon, i. 54). And Mary and Darnly went it before, with their army (Keith, 314).

not off till *Sunday* morning, though he was at Edinborough on *Tueſday*, and though he could not be back till *Wedneſday*.

But Paris ſays, that, on his arrival at Edinborough, he found Bothwell in his lodgings at Holyrood-houſe; "arrivé a Liſlebourg, trouvé le dict "de Boduel en ſon logis a l'abbay." He ſaw him, however, by the aid only of ſecond ſight. The Frenchman had been ſo far naturalized, as to be admitted to this the appropriated privilege of a Scot. By the aid of thoſe magic ſpectacles, he ſaw Bothwell in his lodgings, he converſed with him that day, he again ſaw and again converſed with him the next. And yet, all the while, Bothwell was in a diſtant region, many, many miles from Edinborough, and upon the confines of England. On *Friday* the 24th in the evening, Bothwell ſet off from Edinborough for Lydiſdale; and did not *ſet off* on his return from Lydiſdale, till *Tueſday* January 28th.

On *Tueſday* however, at eight, nine, and ten in the morning ſucceſſively, Paris went to his lodgings at Holyrood-houſe, where he thought he had ſeen and talked with him the night before. But he could not find him now. At laſt he found him in the High Town near Kirk-a-field, accompanied by a number of gentlemen, walking ſide by ſide with Sir James Balfour, and going to dine with Sir James. Paris addreſſed him, as actually Bothwell; and deſired *before all the gentlemen* to be diſpatched to the Queen. And the ſpectre anſwered, juſt as if it had been Bothwell. "Apres diſner, dit il, je "feray."

" feray." After dinner therefore Paris came again, " il retourna querir ſa deſpeche apres diſner." Bothwell wrote his letter; and Paris is ſure that he wrote it with his own hand, " eſcrivit de ſa propre " main." So much were his ſenſes impoſed upon! The deception indeed was very extraordinary. Bothwell appeared, ſpoke, and wrote. A real hand, and a real pen, ſeemed to be employed in the work. Real ink and real paper ſeemed to be uſed by him. And, when he had done, he ſeemed to ſay, " Voila " la reſponſe, retourne t'en a la Royne, et me re- " commandes bien humblement a ſa bonne grace," &c. This was as courteous a ghoſt, as that of Sir Charles Grandiſon's to Mrs. Shirley. Yet it could not poſſibly be any thing but a ghoſt. The true, the genuine Bothwell, the ψυχη and the σωμα of Bothwell, were at this very time a number of miles off; while the ſhade, the ειδωλον, of Bothwell, was mimicking him at Edinborough, and calling up the apparitions of pen, ink, and paper, to aſſiſt in the mummery. And it is no wonder, that ſuch a ſimpleton as Murray's Paris was impoſed upon by the viſionary forms; when the diſquiſitive Berkeley has *ſo fully convinced the world*, that papers, pens, ink, and men are all in their trueſt appearances a mere deluſion, and merely ſpectres of the things which they repreſent.

Paris then went to Lethington, to whom was a letter incloſed in Bothwell's. Yet *our* letter to Bothwell *has ſtrangely forgot to notice it*. She alſo ſent (ſays Paris) a meſſage by him to Lethington and Bothwell together, to know whether the King

ſhould lodge at Kirk-a-field or at Cragmillar. Yet the ſame letter *has ſtrangely forgot to notice this too.* It only refers to the bearer about the lodging at Edinborough. And it refers to Bothwell alone, not Lethington and him together, even upon this head. Paris however reports the meſſage to Lethington. Lethington anſwers it, though Bothwell did not. "Le dict Liddington lui reſpondit, que le Kirk-de-"field ſeroit bon, et le dict Sieur de Boduel et lui "avoient adviſé enſemble là-deſſus." Lethington alſo writes a letter to the Queen, though *ſhe* gives no hint of ſuch a letter in *her own* from Glaſgow. Bothwell alſo ſends a diamond to her, with a gallant ſpeech, that he would ſend her his heart if he had it in his own poſſeſſion; and yet the *Queen* is even ſo uncourteous, as to take no more notice of *either* than of Lethington's letter. And Paris departs on his return for Glaſgow, ſome time after dinner on *Tueſday* January 28.

The Queen, by the declaration of her own deſigns in letter the ſecond, and by the journal which the rebels made of her actual movements, left Glaſgow on *Monday* January 27. Yet ſhe previouſly received a letter, which ſhe anſwered in her third, and in which Bothwell had ſhewed "ſa mony "contrary ſuſpiciounis" of her, though he promiſed to meet her "the morne" or next day. But here Paris's confeſſion and the rebel journal agree together, and pronounce the reception of *ſuch* a letter to be IMPOSSIBLE. She muſt have received it before *Monday*; and Paris did not leave Edinborough

borough with a reply to her *firſt* letter, before *Tueſday* in the afternoon. Nor is this all. Mary received, not only this, but a ſecond letter, from Bothwell; one, in which he expreſſed his diſpleaſure at her, for the misfortune in one of her maids of honour. And the ſtrong bond of IMPOSSIBILITY is broken through, a ſecond time. She expects an anſwer to her firſt, ſhe receives one, and ſhe receives an anſwer to her ſecond; A WHOLE DAY before Paris, the bearer of the firſt, and the re-bearer of the reply to it, has even *arrived* at Edinborough with the *firſt*; A DAY AND A HALF, before he *ſets out* from Edinborough with the *reply*; and conſequently THREE DAYS, before he could reach her with it.

He ſet out on his return, "partit pour s'en aller "a Glaſcow vers la Royne." He arrived at Glaſgow. He waited upon the Queen. He reported the meſſage. He delivered the letters. And he afterwards returned from Glaſgow to Kalendar with the King and Queen, "retournoit de Glaſcow vers "Liſlebourg avec le Roy a Kallander." He reached Glaſgow, therefore, on WEDNESDAY NIGHT, January 29th. He could not reach it before. Yet he *found* the King and Queen *there*. And thus they, who certainly left Glaſgow on *Monday*, were there by Paris's forged depoſitions on the WEDNESDAY and THURSDAY following.

On the way betwixt Glaſgow and Kalendar, he ſays, he was addreſſed by a meſſenger of Bothwell's, who delivered *him* a letter to preſent to the Queen, inſtead of preſenting it to her himſelf. This was intended,

no doubt, as an anſwer to her *ſecond*, and to be the very letter to which ſhe replies in her *fourth*. But it reached her, we ſee, *not* at *Glaſgow*, but *on the road* betwixt it and Kalendar. And it met her, when by the *third* letter Bothwell himſelf was to have met her. She anſwered it, ſays Paris, upon the road betwixt Kalendar and Glaſgow, "en al-"lant," and ſent a *ring* with it. Yet NO SUCH ANSWER WAS EVER SENT. *The rebel journal rejects it.* Neither the *ten* nor the *eight*, neither the *Scotch* nor the *French* liſt of letters, *will admit it for one of their number.* And it peculiarly cannot be that, which yet it peculiarly means to be, the fourth. When *this* was written, Bothwell was *very near to her*; becauſe he was to ſend her word, as ſhe ſays, "this "nicht," concerning one of her maids of honour. But Bothwell was at *Edinborough*, when the letter with the ring was ſent. Indeed he appears from Paris's confeſſion and the rebel journal reſpectively, to have come *no nearer than Edinborough* to her, all the while ſhe was at Glaſgow.

Paris ſet out with the King and Queen from Glaſgow for Kalendar, at ſooneſt by his own account, on THURSDAY January the 30th; when the King and Queen actually ſet out on MONDAY January 27th. He accompanied them to Linlithgow, by his own chronology, on FRIDAY January 31ſt, "apres la Royne et le Roy eſtans a Lythgow;" when in fact they reached the town on TUESDAY January 28th. But there the Queen had a mind to ſend Gilbert Curle to Edinborough, whom Paris aſſerts to have been a groom of her chamber, "va-

"let

" let de chambre ;" though the firſt letter intimates, that both he and Paris were *private ſecretaries* to her *. So much do the letters and the confeſſion diſagree in the ſlighteſt points! He was to ſee, whether the houſe allotted for the King was prepared for his reception. But ſhe afterwards ſent John Hay in his ſtead to Bothwell. And *after* him, " en apres auſſi," ſhe diſpatched Paris with ſome bracelets to Bothwell; as if Paris, who carried the bracelets, could not alſo have carried the letter. *This* letter is evidently what is noticed in the rebel journal, when it ſays, that " ſhe remayned " all day in Linlythquow with the King, and *wrayt* " *from thence to Bothwell.*" But the *bracelets* are the ſame, that are mentioned in the *firſt* letter. Such a diſagreement is there again! Theſe Paris carried to Bothwell at Edinborough; " le " dict Paris, arrivant a Liſlebourg, lui baille les " braſſelets." He found him juſt going to mount his horſe, in order to meet the King and Queen. Paris accompanied him. And they conducted the King to his lodgings at Kirk-a-field.

This is the journal extracted from Paris's ſecond confeſſion. It goes directly againſt the rebel journal. Both go directly againſt the letters. And, in ſuch frail fabricks of chronology as theſe are, the beſt way of deſtroying them all is to daſh them one againſt the other. That the rebels, however, ſhould have formed no leſs than THREE ſyſtems of chronology, and all claſhing with each other; is an amaz-

* § 6.

ing

ing incident in the annals of human folly. It ſhews the natural infatuation of impiety, in very ſtrong colours. But it alſo ſhews ſomething more. It lays open to the eye of FAITH, the providential ſpirit of GOD controuling the operations of villainy, by curbing its exertions of intellect; depreſſing the powers of the mind, to circumſcribe the ſphere of impoſition; and even ſtimulating the ſoul to meaſures, that ſhould finally blaſt its efforts. Had we not poſſeſſed this confeſſion of Paris, we ſhould have loſt ſome good proofs againſt the authenticity of the letters. Had we not poſſeſſed the rebel journal, we ſhould have been deprived of ſome of our beſt evidences againſt both. Yet theſe two papers were ſupplied by the rebels themſelves. Murray ſent up the confeſſion. Murray preſented the journal. Both were delivered in to the commiſſioners of England, and ſo were tranſmitted to the preſent times. They were delivered, in order to ſupport the cauſe of the letters, to confirm their authenticity, and to ſanction their veracity. And yet the ſeeds of detection were ſowed deep in the ground of both, ready to come forth whenever they were invited by a ſpirit of fair enquiry, and ſure to cover the letters which they were to befriend, with perpetual ſhame and infamy.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER THE FOURTH.

§ I.

LETTER THE FIFTH (1).

I.—" Allace! my lord, quhy is zour traiſt put in " ane perſoun ſa unworthie, to miſtraiſt that quhilk " is haillely zouris? I am wod (2). Ze had pro- " miſſit me, that ze wald reſolve all (3), and that ze " wald ſend me word every day (4) quhat I " ſuld do. Ze haif done nathing yairof (5). I ad- " vertiſit (6) zow weill to tak heid of zour fals " brother-in-law: he come to me, and without " ſchawing me ony thing from zow (7), tald me " that ze had willit him to wryte to zow that"

I.—" Monſieur, helas! pourquoy eſt voſtre fi- " ance miſe en perſonne ſi indigne, pour ſoupcon- " ner ce qui eſt entierement voſtre? J'enrage (2). " Vous m'aviez promis, que vous vous reſouldriez " en toutes choſes (3), et que chacun jour (4) " vous m'envoiriez dire ce que j'auroye a faire. " Vous n'en avez rien fait (5). Je vous veux

" bien

" bien advertir (6), que vous preniez bien garde a " voſtre deſloyal beau-frere: il vint vers moy, " ſans me faire apparoiſtre que c'eſtoit de voſtre " part (7), et me dit que vous l'aviez "

(1) We are now come to the letters from Stirling. Of theſe the rebel journal ſpeaks thus: " April 21 [1567], viz. Mounday, the Quene raid " to Stirling, and from thence wreyt the letteris " concerning—hir raviſhing—." And that here they begin, is plain from the tenor of the preſent letter. In the Engliſh Detection of Buchanan, in which the letters were publiſhed for the firſt time all together, the fifth letter, as the firſt from Stirling, bears this title, " ane uther letter ſend fra Striviling to " Bothwell, concerning the practice for hir raviſche- " ment." Then comes the ſixth with this title, " ane uther letter to Bothwell, for the practiſe and " deviſe to excuſe the raviſhing." The ſeventh follows with this, " ane uther letter to Bothwell of " ye practice of hir raviſhment, and to adviſe him " to be ſtrong to do it *." And the eighth, as I have noticed before, is ſtrangely thrown in among the Glaſgow letters, and made the third of them; when it is plainly one of the Stirling, and an anticipation of the approaching ſeizure and marriage.

(2) For remarks upon this, ſee Section II.

(3) He had promiſed her, it ſeems, to reſolve all. But what needed to be reſolved? NOTHING. The plan of ſeizure was already ſettled, ſay the re-

* Anderſon, ii. 151—155.

bels.

bels. And therefore nothing could remain to be ſettled at preſent. " The Quene raid to Stirling," ſays the rebel journal, " *as it wes devyſit*, and from " thence wreyt the letteris concerning the *purpoſe* " *devyſit of hir raviſhing*," meaning her ſeizure.— " That ze wald reſolve all," Scotch; " que vous " vous reſouldriez en toutes choſes," French. The Scotch ſays, that Bothwell had promiſed to reſolve all difficulties for her, which ſhould ariſe in their intended enterprize, and to ſend her word from time to time how ſhe ſhould act in them; and that he had not done this. But the French aſſerts, that he had promiſed to *reſolve himſelf* in them all; which is very different in its import, and contrary to the two clauſes immediately following. And yet the Miſcellaneous Remarker produces the variation, without adverting to the ſenſe at all, as a probable proof that the French was the original *.

(4) This is another argument of the forgery. She ſays, that Bothwell had promiſed to ſend her word " every day" what ſhe ſhould do. How many days then was ſhe to ſtay at Stirling, to admit of this addreſs from Bothwell to her " every day?" She was to ſtay juſt *one day* and *two nights*. She was to reach Stirling on Monday. She was to leave it on Wedneſday. And thus the long train of days is ſhrunk up into little more than four and twenty hours, like the Iliad compreſſed into a nut-ſhell.

* P. 27.

(5) Both-

(5) Bothwell has not executed his promiſe, it ſeems. He has not reſolved all the difficulties for her, and ſent her word "every day" what ſhe ſhould do. But how *could* he? She left him in the morning. She is writing to him in the evening. And what difficulties could he reſolve for her in the interval? At this part of the letter, forgery faces us in every line, and almoſt in every word.

(6) "Advertiſit," Scotch; "veux bien advertir," French. The Scotch ſpeaks, ſays the Remarker, "as if the ſuppoſed writer of this letter referred to "what ſhe had *formerly ſaid*, inſtead of introduc-"ing," as the French does, "a ſubject *for the firſt* "*time* *." But the French is wrong, and the Scotch right. Mary is not introducing a ſubject for the firſt time. She refers to what ſhe had formerly ſaid. She is mentioning the neglects of Bothwell. He had promiſed to give her inſtructions from day to day; but he had not done it. She had warned him to beware of confiding in his brother-in-law; and yet he has confided in him. He has ſent him to her too, without any token from himſelf. He has ſent him to confer with her, on the buſineſs of their grand enterprize.

(7) This is another evidence of the forgery. The brother-in-law of Bothwell was Huntly, we know. He was at Edinborough on the Saturday night before. That day his forfeiture was taken off by the parliament †. That night alſo, ſay the

* P. 27. † Goodall, ii. 141 and 249.

rebels

rebels themſelves, " before the lords had ſuch war-
" rant [from the Queen], there was none of them
" that did or wold ſet their hands [to the famous
" bond], ſaving onlie the Earl of Huntlie *." And he actually appears as a ſubſcriber to the bond †. He was therefore in Edinborough on the 19th of April, the day but one before the Queen ſet out for Stirling. Yet he *came* to the Queen *at* Stirling, ſays the letter. The rebel journal alſo ſpeaks of Stirling and of him, as the place " quhair Huntly " *came to hir*." Yet, as this is only Monday evening, how could he come to her? She had left Edinborough only that morning. He muſt have left it that morning too, as ſhe complains that he had brought her no tokens from Bothwell. How then could he come to her? He actually ATTENDED HER THITHER. He actually STAID WITH HER THERE. He actually ACCOMPANIED HER BACK AGAIN. The proofs of theſe points will be dwelt upon, as the proving paſſages occur in the letters.

" that I ſuld ſay (1), and quhair and quhen ze ſuld
" cum to me (2), and that that ze ſuild do tuiching
" him (3); and thairupon hes preichit (4) unto
' me yat it was ane fuliſche interpryſe, and that
' with myne honour I culd never marry zow, ſeing
' that being maryit ze did cary me away (5), and

* Appendix, N° v. † Keith, 382—383, and Anderſon, i. 112.

" yat his folkis wald not ſuffer it (6), and that the " lordis wald unſay yameſelfis, and wald deny that " thay had ſaid (7). To be ſchort, he is all con- " trarie. I tald him, that ſeing I was cum ſa far, " gif ze did not withdraw zourſelf of zourſelf, that " na perſwaſioun, nor deith itſelf, ſuld mak me fail " of my promeis."

" requis, qu'il vous eſcrivit ce que je vous voudroye " dire (1); et où et quand je pourroye aller a " vous (2), et ce que vous deliberiez faire de luy " (3); et ſur cela il me remonſtra (4), que c'eſtoit " une folle entrepriſe, et que pour mon honneur je " ne vous pouvoye prendre a mary, puis que vous " eſtiez marié, ny aller avec vous (5), et que ſes " gens meſmes ne le ſuffriroient pas (6), voir que " les ſeigneurs contrediroyent a ce que en ſeroit " propoſé (7). Bref, il ſemble qu'il nous ſoit du " tout contraire. Je luy reſpondy, veu que j'en " eſtoye venuë ſi avant, que ſi vous ne vous re- " tractiez, nulle perſuaſion, non pas meſmes la " mort, me feroit manquer a ma promeſſe."

(1) The clauſe means obviouſly all that Mary ſhould ſay to Huntly. This is what Huntly was to write to Bothwell. But the French alters it into what Mary *wanted to ſay* to *Bothwell*, " ce que je " *vous voudroye* dire."

(2) Huntly was to ſettle with Mary, " quhair " and quhen" Bothwell was to meet her and ſeize her. Yet this ſurely muſt have been ſettled before. Common ſenſe tells us it muſt. And, as the jour-

nal

nal assures us it was, so *these letters never settle it.*— "*Ze* suld cum to *me*," Scotch; "*je* pourroye aller "a *vous*," French. The latter has changed the person; and made Mary to come, and (in the *Scotch* sense of the words) *ravish* Bothwell.

(3) Huntly was to settle with the Queen, and then to inform Bothwell, how Bothwell was to act concerning Huntly, in this business of the seizure. This is clearly the sense. Yet the Remarker, with his usual indistinctness of ideas, says thus: "If this "be joined with "'qu'il vous escrivit,'" it may "seem impossible to explain, how the Earl of Both-"well should have desired the Earl of Huntly to "write to him, what use he, Bothwell, proposed, to "make of him, Huntly. But "'me dit'" must be "joined with "'ce que vous deliberiez faire de "'luy;'" and the sense is, that Huntly told the "Queen, or that the writer of the letter meant to "have it supposed that Huntly told the Queen, "what use Bothwell intended to make of him "in the project of the *enlevement* *." He thus, if I may be allowed to *compress his sense into perceptibility*, makes Huntly to tell Mary from Bothwell, what use Bothwell intended to make of Huntly in the seizure. But Huntly was to settle with Mary, and then to inform Bothwell, *not* what use Bothwell intended to make of Huntly, *but* how Bothwell was to act with regard to Huntly at the seizure. Huntly was to be her *escort*. The difficulty was, how she was to be seized, and yet the seizure throw no reflection upon her *escort*. This difficulty was to

* P. 28.

be removed by the conference between Mary and Huntly. And Bothwell was to act accordingly.

(4) "Preichit," Scotch; "remonſtra," French. The latter loſes the ſpirit of the former. To *preach* in converſation had *then* the ſame ſenſe, as it has now. Thus in Paris's *firſt* confeſſion, as it ſtands tranſlated in Calderwood's MS hiſtory, Bothwell ſays to Paris on his objecting to the murder of the King, with all the pertneſs of a modern knave, "wouldſt thou *preach* *?"

(5) "The Scottiſh copy," ſays Mr. Goodall, "makes the Queen uſe [report] theſe words to the "earl. This being a plain anticipation, in ſpeaking of the earl's rape [ſeizure] of the Queen as "paſt, which had not yet happened; the cautious "tranſlators," the Latin and the French, "thought "fit to throw it out, and inſtead of the laſt five "words *ze did cary me away*, we find the words, *ny "aller avec vous*, in the French †." "This is ingenious," the Remarker obſerves; but it "will "not," he thinks, "ſtand the teſt of ſober criticiſm." His reaſons for it are theſe. I muſt give them nearly in their full length, that he may be ſeen in his juſt proportions. "If it appear from any one "paſſage of the letter in queſtion, that the French "is the original and the Scottiſh a tranſlation, the "hypotheſis of Mr. Goodall falls to the ground. "Beſides, Lord Huntley is ſuppoſed in the Scottiſh "copy to remonſtrate to the Queen againſt her "raſh and ill-adviſed undertaking, une folle enterpriſe," as if *theſe words* and the *remonſtrance* were

* Goodall, i. 139. † Ibid. i. 98.

in the *Scottiſh* copy, " that is, her purpoſe of being " carried off as by force, and then of marrying " Bothwell; yet the very next words imply that " Bothwell had already carried her off; and it is " added, that even the vaſſals and dependants of " Lord Huntley would not ſuffer it, that is, would " not concur in the enterprize. All this is ſo mon- " ſtrouſly abſurd, that we cannot ſuppoſe it to have " been contained in a real letter, and ſtill leſs, if " poſſible, can we aſcribe it to the invention of the " enemies of Queen Mary, who, however wicked " they might have been, were certainly intelligent " and judicious. *It ſhould ſeem*, that the Scottiſh " tranſlator either fell into an error, through his " ſcanty knowledge of the French language, or " that, from a leſs pardonable cauſe, he endea- " voured to touch up and improve the origi- " nal *." What then is the concluſion of all this? Is Mr. Goodall's ſuppoſition to ſtand or to fall? It is not to ſtand. Yet who has ſeen it fall? The gentleman has ſo long habituated himſelf to the contemplation of his own ideas, that he ſeems to pay little reſpect to thoſe of others. He is to *prove* the Scotch a tranſlation. Yet he always *ſuppoſes* it, as he moves along. And he refers to this ſup- poſition at every turn, as the ground-work of all his aſſertions, and as the pillar of all his conjectures. Thus, when the French has varied ſo widely from the Scotch, and for ſo important a reaſon as is ſug- geſted by Mr. Goodall, he, acting under the me- chanical influence of his own prepoſſeſſions, ſteps

* P. 29.

forward to *assume* what he is at that very moment labouring to prove, condemns the Scotch for deviating so much from the French, hints at the Scotch translator's ignorance of the French, and even throws out strong insinuations against his honesty. Just so may we conceive a child, after gazing fondly upon the scenery displayed in the reflection of a clear river,

The pendent forests, and the downward skies,

and then drawing off his eye for a moment, to be surprized at the sight of woods shooting upward, and to stare at the absurdity of a sky over his head. And the whole difficulty of the passage lies in this. The seizure has not yet been made. Huntly even says, that his men will not suffer it to be made. And he declares, even if it had been made, Mary could not with honour marry Bothwell, because Bothwell was a married man at the seizure. This declaration, though it respects the future time, is yet, by an anticipation which is common to all languages, spoken of in terms of the past. Hence it is coupled with clauses all in the future. Such anticipations are never more than momentary. The mind immediately returns to its settled modes of speech. And a sentence becomes in that case just as our present one is, with one word of past time, and with other words of future on each side of it. He "preichit unto me," says Mary, "yat it *was* "ane fulische interpryse, and that with myne ho- "nour I *culd* never marry zow, seing that being "maryit ze *did* cary me away," catching the anticipation from the idea of the future marriage, to which the seizure must have been prior; "and yat "his

" his folkis *wald* not ſuffer it, and that the Lordis " *wald* unſay yameſelfis, and *wald* deny that thay " had ſaid." But the Latin, and the French after it, not ſeeing this explanation of the difficulty, and unwilling to adopt the ſeeming contradiction, left out the exceptionable paſſage, and boldly ſubſtituted another in its room. Mary, who before could not with honour marry Bothwell after the ſeizure, becauſe he would have then ſeized her while he yet had a wife; now could not marry him becauſe he has already a wife, and *could not go with him*, " ny " aller avec vous."

(6) " His folkis," Scotch; " ſes gens *meſmes*," French. This ſhews Huntly to have had his retainers with him. " Wald not ſuffer it." This ſhews Huntly and his retainers to be the Queen's guard.

(7) This is thrown in, becauſe the lords *did* unſay themſelves, and *did* deny that which they had ſaid. But the anticipation of the fact proves the forgery. No friend of Mary's could *then* foreſee, that the majority of the lords would go ſo directly againſt their ſolemn ſubſcriptions, as they did afterwards. Huntly could laſt of all have foreſeen it *then*, as (according to the rebel account) he was the very firſt man who ſigned *. We all bind ourſelves they ſay, that we " ſall tak pairt—and fortifie the " ſaid erle to the ſaid mariage, ſo farr as it may " pleiſe their ſoverane lady to allow; and thairin " ſall ſpend and beſtow our lives and guidis againis " *all that leive or die may*, as *we ſall anſer to*

* Appendix, N° v.

" *God*, and *upon our awin fidelities and conſcience*; " and in caiſe we doe in the contrare, *nevir to have* " *reputatioun or credite in na tyme heirefter*, but to " be *accounted unworthie and faithles traytors* *." Yet Morton, Lindſay, Glencairn, the Biſhop of Orkney, and a variety of others, as ſoon as ever the marriage had been forced upon Mary by the enginry of this bond, directly broke through all their " fi- " delities and conſcience," directly flew in the face of that GOD to whom they had bound themſelves to " anſer," directly condemned themſelves " ne- " vir to have reputatioun or credite in na tyme " heirefter," and directly branded themſelves in the ſight of GOD and man for " unworthie and " faithles traytors." But this is ſuch a pitch of wickedneſs, as no *honeſt* ſagacity could have fore- ſeen. It was too monſtrous to be expected, by any *but villains as great as themſelves*.

" The lordis wald unſay yameſelfis, and wald " deny that they had ſaid," Scotch; " voire que les " ſeigneurs contrediroyent a ce que en ſeroit pro- " poſé," French. " Here the tranſlator," ſays the Remarker concerning the Scotch original, " ſeems " to have gueſſed, that the expreſſion alluded to " *Ainſlie's ſupper*, and to the famous bond of the " nobility, and, on that miſtaken gueſs, to have " formed his tranſlation †." Into what a labyrinth has the author led himſelf, by his boldneſs in *arro- gating* the very point which he pretends to prove! He ſeems to have ſtudied the ingenious Mr. Hil- drop's new ſyſtem of logick, in which the PETITIO

* Anderſon, i. 110—111. † P. 30.

PRINCIPII,

PRINCIPII, that proſcribed fallacy of the ſchools, is converted into a true principle of reaſoning—for a deiſt, and honoured with a very particular diſtinction. The French tranſlation is thus mounted into an original. The Scotch original is thus depreſſed into a verſion. The latter alludes to the bond of aſſociation. This he ſaw. Yet he would not ſee it. The French had not ſeen it. This was enough for him. He therefore rambles with the French, to make the lords contradict what *ſhall be propoſed* concerning the ſeizure: as if the ſeizure was *now* to be propoſed to the lords. And, ſenſe or nonſenſe, he ſwallows it all, if it is but adminiſtered in a vehicle of French.

II.—" As tuiching the place, ze are tó negligent, " pardoun me, to remit zourſelf thairof unto me. " Cheis it zourſelf, and ſend me word of it (1), and " in the meane tyme I am ſeik, I will differ, as, tuich- " ing the matter, it is tó lait (2). It was not lang " of me zat ze have not thocht thairupon in time " (3). And gif ze had not mair changeit zour " mynd ſen myne abſence, then I have (4), ze ſuld " not be now to aſk ſic reſolving. Weill (5), thair " wantis nathing of my part,"

II.—" Touchant la place, pardonnez moy, ſi je " vous dy que vous eſtes trop negligent de vous, re- " mettre a moy. Choiſiſſez-la donc vous-meſmes,

" et m'en advertiſſez (1); cependant je ne ſuis a " mon aiſe, car il eſt ja trop tard (2), et n'a pas " tenu a moy, que vous n'y ayez penſé de bonne " heure (3). Et ſi vous n'euſſiez changé d'opi- " nion depuis mon abſence, non plus que moy (4), " vous ne demanderiez maintenant d'en eſtre reſolu " (5). Tant y a qu'il n'y a point deſaute de ma " part; et"

(1) From this paſſage, we muſt ſuppoſe Mary and Bothwell not to have yet ſettled the *place* of the ſeizure. Huntly was accordingly to aſcertain the " quhair" with her. Yet he does *not* aſcertain it. Bothwell refers it to Mary. And Mary refers it back to Bothwell. All this is a poſitive proof of the forgery. The time of Mary's ſtay at Stirling did not admit of either of theſe references. The *place* was alſo as much aſcertained, as the ſeizure. For this we have the authority of Buchanan himſelf. And Mary, he tells us expreſsly, had ſettled with Bothwell *before ſhe left Edinborough*, that he ſhould ſeize her *at Almond Bridge*, and thence carry her off: " antequam Edimburgo diſceſſiſſet, cum eo " tranſegerat, ut ipſe revertentem ad Almonis Pon- " tem eam raperet, ac ſecum quó vellet, velut per " vim, abduceret *."

(2) " In the meane tyme I am ſeik, I will differ, as, " tuiching the matter, it is tó lait." This concurs with the journal and with truth in intimating, that if the place of ſeizure was not yet ſettled, it was too late to ſettle it now. Her viſit at Stirling would

* Hiſt. xviii. 356.

not allow of it. And it is equally ſurprizing and agreeable, to ſee the truth thus ſtart out from the covert of fiction. But this paſſage in the Scotch, ſays our Remarker *, " exhibits an aſſemblage of " words without connexion or meaning." Yet both are clear. " In the meane tyme," ſays the Queen, that is, till you can chooſe the place and *ſend* me word of it; " I am ſeik," not I will be ſick, as if ſhe was to feign herſelf ſo, but " I am" ſo, as ſhe afterwards appears to repreſent herſelf: " I will differ," I will put off my return: " as, " tuiching the matter, it is tó lait," becauſe, with regard to *the* buſineſs, it is too late to execute it now, if I ſhould return as I originally projected to have done. Such is the " meaning," and ſuch the " connexion," of the words in Scotch. Let us now turn to the French. " Cependant je ne ſuis a mon " aiſe, car il eſt ja trop tard." Here half is left out, " I will differ" and " tuiching the matter." Both are eſſential to the meaning. The ſickneſs of the Scotch, alſo, is converted into uneaſineſs in the French. And Mary is made, not to defer her return, becauſe it is too late to execute the buſineſs; but to be uneaſy, becauſe it is too late. Yet the Remarker cries out thus †: " can partiality for an " hypotheſis induce any perſon, although but mo- " derately ſkilled in the French language, to aſſert, " that the Scottiſh copy is at this place the original, " and the French a tranſlation?" The Scotch, it ſeems, would have retained all its rights of originality, if it had only run thus like the French, " in the

* P. 30. † Ibid.

" meane

" meane tyme I am not at myne eis, for it is tó lait." But presuming to have more and better things in it than the French, to raise the uneasiness into sickness, to say she will put off her return, and to add that it is too late to do the business now; it reduces itself to the rank of a translation from the French. And we are thus provided with a new and happy criterion, to distinguish copies from originals.

Let me also mark another proof of forgery here. The sickness, here and hereafter alluded to, seems to have been real. But then it was equally sudden and temporary. And it did *not* happen at Stirling. " In itinere," says Buchanan, speaking of Mary's *return*,—" *repentino* dolore cruciata, in *do-*" *munculam pauperculam* concessit, ad quatuor ferme " millia passuum a Sterlino: *remittente se deinde do-*" *lore*, ad iter reversa, *Linnuchum* eâ nocte venit *." This was such an illness, as was impossible to be mentioned like the present illness, in a letter during its continuance. It was too sharp, to admit of her prosecution of the journey. It was too transitory, to stop her long upon the road. And it came on four miles on this side Stirling, and at her return from it; when that befell her before she set out to return, even while she was in Stirling, and even the first evening of her arrival at Stirling. So plainly is Lethington's first letter from Stirling, quite contrary even to Buchanan's narrative of Mary's journey to it!

(3) This again informs us, that the plan of seizing Mary could not be put in execution, unless her

* Hist. xviii. p. 356.

stay

ſtay at Stirling was prolonged. Accordingly, we have ſeen already that it is to be prolonged. We owe the ſight indeed to the *Scottiſh tranſlation*, as the Remarker ſo illogically perſiſts in calling it. The *French original* did not know the fact. And the ſtream has riſen higher than the fountain.

(4) Bothwell, it ſeems, has changed his mind ſince his abſence. But how long was this abſence, to work ſuch an effect upon him? It was no leſs than—from morning till evening. Such is the abſence that can change the minds of lovers! It was the whole life of an *ephemera*; a compleat generation, as calculated on *its* cycle of time. The ſun had riſen, the ſun had even reached its noon, the ſun had even come to its fall, ſince this pair of lovers had been torn from each other's arms. And what cannot be effected by ſuch a *Julian period* in love?

(5) "*Weill*, thair wantis nathing of my part." I look upon this little word *weill*, as a full proof of itſelf that the Scotch was the original. I have already demonſtrated the point, I truſt, by that ſtrongeſt of all evidence, the facts of hiſtory. But I apprehend that this alone would prove it. It is a word peculiar to the common language of England and Scotland. It is alſo uſed in a very peculiar manner by it. It may come into original writings of the familiar kind, becauſe it frequently occurs in the familiarities of converſation. But it never occurs in more formal writings. Nor, even in familiar compoſitions, did it ever appear, I believe,

lieve, upon the face of a tranſlation; becauſe it has no correſpondent term in any other language. And it appears here, not anſwered in the French by any word or words like it in meaning; " tant y a " que," the French for it, being very different from it, and ſignifying *however*.

" and ſéing that zour negligence dois put us baith " in the danger of one fals brother, gif it ſuccedet " not weill, I will never ryſe agane (1).

III.—" I ſend this beirar unto zow, for I dar not " traiſt zour brother with thir [theſe] letteris, nor " with the diligence (2). He ſhall tell zow in " quhait ſtait I am, and judge ze quhat amendment " yir [theſe] new ceremonies have brocht unto me " (3). I wald I wer deid, for I ſé all gais ill (4). " Ze promyſit uther maner of mater of zour foirſé- " ing (5), bot"

" en cas que voſtre negligence ne nous mette tous " deux au danger d'un deſloyal beau-frere, ſi les " choſes ne ſuccedent, jamais ne puiſſe-je bouger de " ceſte place (1).

III.—" Je vous envoye ce porteur, d'autant que " je n'oſe commettre ces lettres a voſtre beau-frere, " qui n'uſera auſſi de diligence (2). Il vous dira " de mon eſtat. Jugez quel amendement m'ont

" apporté

" apporté ces nouvelles ceremonies (3). Je vou-
" droye eſtre morte, car je voy que tout va mal (4).
" Vous me promiſtes bien autre choſe par vos pre-
" mieres promeſſes (5); mais l'abſence a pou-
" voir"

(1) " Brother," Scotch; " beau-frere," French: " never ryſe agane," Scotch; " ne puiſſe-je bou-
" ger de ceſte place," French. To " ryſe agane" alludes to her preſent illneſs. She has ſaid before, " I am ſeik." She ſays afterwards, that the bearer ſhall tell Bothwell " in quhat ſtait I am," meaning as to her health; and that he himſelf may judge, " quhat amendment" of health ſhe has got from his conduct. And the King ſays ſimilarly in the firſt letter, " I ſall never ryſe out of yis bed." The French has accordingly preſerved the meaning, in ſome meaſure; only changing the intimation of not recovering from her ſickneſs, into another intimation of not being able to remove from that place. This however ſhews the ſickneſs before not to be intended for a feigned one in Mary, as an excuſe for deferring her return; but to be repreſented as a real one, heightened indeed by Bothwell's neglects, but ſtill real, and the reaſon for deferring her return. It therefore furniſhes another proof of the forgery. Mary had no illneſs *at* Stirling. Mary did not defer her return *from* Stirling. She could not intend to ſtay leſs than one day there. And ſhe ſtayed not more.—" Séing," Scotch; " en cas," French; the latter ſuppoſing that it *may be*, when the

the former concurs with the whole tenor of the letter, to say that it *is*.

(2) Huntly then was to return to Edinborough, and the messenger was to carry the letter thither, and both to return to Stirling; before she could set off. This marks the forgery again. The present letter could not be written, before the night of Monday April 21st. It, the bearer, and Huntly could not set off till the next morning, Tuesday April 22d. The journey was six-and-thirty miles thither. Bothwell was then to consider the "quhair" and the "quhen" for seizing her, to settle too with Huntly how the seizure was to be made with a salvo to his honour, and then to write back to her concerning both. The messenger therefore could not reach Stirling, till Wednesday evening. And yet Mary actually left it on Wednesday morning, and came that evening to Linlithgow, according to the rebels themselves. "April 23d," says the journal, "she came to Linlythquow." "Limnuchum," says Buchanan before, "*eâ nocte* "venit."—"Nor with the diligence," Scotch, meaning the speed requisite to be made; as Bishop Lesley in his Negotiations says, that "the ambassa-"dor did his *diligence* soe well," &c.; as Mary's commissioners say, that the rebels "left the doing "of all *diligence*;" and as the proctor in Lady Bothwell's suit is said to have taken "the next day, "—to do farther *diligence**."

* Anderson, iii. 149; Goodall, ii. 165; and Robertson, ii. 449.

(3) All

(3) All this is totally inconſiſtent with the time, that the very rebels themſelves have allowed for Mary's ſtay at Stirling. It implies her to have been come from Edinborough ſome days. She has been ſeized with ſickneſs. Her ſickneſs has been aggravated by the indeciſive and formal manner of Bothwell's acting, concerning the ſeizure of her perſon. And yet, all the while, ſhe muſt have come from Edinborough the very morning of her writing.

(4) Bothwell had promiſed to ſend her word "every day," what ſhe ſhould do. He has not done this. He has at laſt ſent his brother-in-law Huntly to her, againſt her warnings, and without any written commiſſion from himſelf, to ſettle ſome points with her concerning the ſeizure. She refuſes to treat with him. She ſends off an expreſs to Bothwell, requiring him to ſettle the place of ſeizure. But ſhe declares herſelf to be ſick. His indeciſive mode of acting has increaſed her ſickneſs. And ſhe wiſhes ſhe was dead, as ſhe ſees every thing go croſs to her deſires. All this implies ſuch a length of time, as ſhews the forgery at once; when we meaſure it upon the ſcale of the journal.

(5) "Foirſéing," Scotch; "premieres pro-"meſſes," French. The meaning is, that Bothwell promiſed a different kind of conduct in foreſeeing, in forethought, in looking forward to all the parts of the intended buſineſs. It is to the ſame effect as before, when ſhe ſays: "ze had pro-"myſit me, that ze wald reſolve all, and yat ze "wald ſend me word every day quhat I ſuld do."

But

But the French has altered the meaning greatly. It reads "foirſéing" through the ſpectacles of the Latin, as *fore-ſaying*. It then turns the *fore-ſaying* into *promiſes*, even into the *firſt* promiſes, as if there were any others; and ſo leaves out all hints of the forethought. And the Miſcellaneous Remarker has been prudent enough, to paſs over this variation in ſilence; though it had previouſly been noticed by Mr. Goodall *.

" abſence hes power over zow (1), qua haif twa " ſtringis to zour bow. Diſpatch the anſwer that I " faill not, and put na traiſt in zour brother for this " interpryſe (2); for he has tald it, and is alſo all " aganis it (3). God give zow gude nicht (4)."

" ſur vous (1), qui avez deux cordes en voſtre " arc. Depechez vous de me faire reponſe, afin " que je ne faille, ne me voulant fier en voſtre " frere (2), car il en a babillé, et y eſt du tout con- " trair (3). Dieu vous donne la bonne nuict (4)."

(1) It well might, conſidering how long it had been; no leſs than—ten or twelve hours.

(2) The Scotch reminds *Bothwell* to put no truſt in Huntly, as Mary had advertiſed him before to take heed of Huntly. But the French tells him, that *ſhe* would put no truſt in Huntly,

* i. 91.

Yet

Yet the Remarker obſerves *, that the Scot has "miſ-underſtood" the Frenchman. He *will* have the French to be the original, though the French author declares expreſsly to the contrary. He *will* believe and aſſert his favourite Dulcinea del Toboſo, to be a lady of high rank and birth; even though her own mother depoſes, that ſhe is only a clown's daughter. And he takes no notice of the omiſſion in the French, the clauſe "for this "interpryſe" having no words to anſwer it there; though it is ſo important, that he is obliged himſelf to interpolate ſome words to the ſame effect, in his verſion of the French into Engliſh. The French, he obſerves, is to this effect in Engliſh: "make haſte to return me an anſwer, that I "may not fail (miſcarry *in my part of the enter-*"*prize)* for I do not chuſe to rely on Lord "Huntley; he has been blabbing *it*, and is wholly "againſt *it*."

(3) "He is all aganis it," Scotch; "y eſt du "tout contraire," French. Before, the expreſſion was this, "he is all contrarie," Scotch; "il ſemble "qu'il nous ſoit du tout contraire," French. *Then* the Remarker obſerved †, as an additional evidence "of the French being the original, and the "Scottiſh a tranſlation," that an "emphatical "word" was "omitted in the Scottiſh copy." It is, he ſaid, in French, "il *ſemble* que," or "he "*kytheth* to be." But he ſays nothing to the *preſent* paſſage, where the emphatical word, as he calls

* P. 31. † Ibid.

it, is "omitted" in both the copies. The word indeed is so little emphatical, that it is quite the reverse. It does not augment the force and power of the meaning. It actually diminishes it. And the import of the passage, which is, that Huntly was *actually* all against the enterprize, is diluted by this "emphatical" word into an assertion, that he *seems to be*, or rather that *it seems he is*, all against it.

(4) This shews the letter to be written late at night. There are only two nights, to which we can attribute it, that of Monday April 21st, and that of Tuesday April 22d. And, as it is the first letter, I assign the first night to it. If we refer it to Tuesday night, the difficulties urged before will be all enhanced greatly.

§ II.

§ II.

Mary is made in the foregoing letter, to ſpeak of ſome miſtruſts in Bothwell concerning her. I wiſh to conſider theſe at a greater length, than I could allow myſelf to do in the tranſient courſe of the notes. And I doubt not but I ſhall add one more to the many proofs of forgery, which I have laid already before my reader.

Mary left Edinborough on Monday April 21ſt. She left Bothwell there. "In the mene tyme," ſays the rebel journal, "Bothwell remainit at Edin-"brough." She left him therefore at Edinborough that morning. And when was this letter written to him? She ſtaid at Stirling only Monday night and all Tueſday. On Wedneſday ſhe returned to Linlithgow. "April 23d," ſays the journal, "ſhe "came to Linlythquow." We have only one day and one night, therefore, for theſe letters. And the firſt muſt of courſe be written on Monday night, as at night it expreſsly declares itſelf to have been written. Mary, then, came away from Edinborough and Bothwell on Monday morning, and writes to him from Stirling on Monday night. Yet ſhe is made to complain of his diſtruſts. "Alace, "my lord," ſhe cries out, "quhy is zour traiſt put "in ane perſoun ſa unworthie, to miſtraiſt that "quhilk is haillely zouris? I am wod." But how

could Bothwell have ſhewn any miſtruſt in this period? He could certainly have ſhewn none, *ſince ſhe came away*. She only came away that morning. He muſt conſequently have ſhewn it *before*. Yet he was *then* ſhewing juſt the reverſe. This we know from a particular fact. On Saturday before, the parliament was diſſolved. That evening Bothwell invited the members of it to a grand ſupper at a tavern, which has been made memorable ſince by the tranſactions at it, and from the keeper of the tavern is known by the name of AINSLIE'S SUPPER. The deſign of it was to draw the members into a bond of aſſociation, urging Bothwell upon Mary for a huſband, and engaging to ſtand by her and him for ever. This bond was accordingly produced. And the rebel journal informs us, that "April 19, "quhilk wes Setterday,—the ſame nycht the lordis "*paſt* the band—to the Erle Bothwell."

A diſpute has ariſen indeed, concerning the *day* on which the bond was ſigned. An un-authenticated copy of it in the Cotton library, is dated the 19th. But another copy, which is at Paris and authenticated by Sir James Balfour, is dated the 20th. This therefore is alledged by the friends of Mary *, as an argument againſt the date of the other, and as an evidence againſt the alledged uſe of force in the ſubſcriptions. The "parliament," ſaid the rebels at York, "was the occaſion that ſo many lords were "there aſſembled, which, being all invited to a ſup-

* Keith, 382; Tytler, 217; Guthry's Scotch Hiſt. vii. 21—22; and Stuart, i. 212—213.

"per

" per by Bothwell, were induced—more for fear " than otherwayes, to ſubcribe to the ſaid bond; " two hundred harkebuſiers being in the court, and " about the chamber-door wheare they ſupped, " which weare all at Bothwell's devotion *." Yet I ſtill think, that the bond was ſigned at the ſupper. The next day was Sunday. It is by no means probable, that ſuch a meeting would be convened upon ſuch a day. Nor could the meeting and ſupper on Saturday have ſerved any purpoſe, if the bond had not been then produced and ſigned. That it *was* then produced, the rebels ſay at York †, the copy in the Cotton library aſſerts, the rebel journal avers, and every circumſtance confirms. And theſe are ſufficient, to weigh down the ſolitary authority of the Paris copy.

But how comes *this* to be ſo dated? From a very natural circumſtance, no doubt. The meeting and the ſupper were purely for the ſake of the bond. It was not produced however, till the ſupper was over. So the rebels ſay at York, that the lords " were induced *after ſupper* to ſubſcribe to the " ſaid bond." So the rebel journal affirms, that " the lordis paſt the band *efter ſupper* to the Erle " Bothwell." This would make the buſineſs late in a large aſſembly. But the national habit of hard drinking would make it much later. And as Buchanan adds, and as we may be very ſure the fact was, the bond was not produced and ſigned before the ſpirits of the company were properly prepared

* Appendix, N° v. † Ibid.

for the buſineſs, by a free circulation of the bottle; "ſolutis ad hilaritatem animis omnium *." From all, the meeting had plainly advanced far into Sunday morning, before it broke up. We are told by the rebels at York, that "the *next* morning, by *four* "*of the clocke*, few or none of them weare left in the "towne, but departed *without taking their leave* †." And it is utterly incredible, that the BISHOPS would be preſent at ſuch a meeting. Yet eight of them are ſubſcribers to the bond. They are ſo in the Paris copy, dated the 20th. But they are not ſo in the Cotton copy, dated the 19th ‡. This ſerves to ſhew us, that *ſome* ſubſcriptions were *added on the Sunday*, though the main part of them was put down on the Saturday; that, particularly, a ſpace was left for the ſpiritual peers, at the head of the ſubſcribers; that this ſpace was afterwards filled up by them; and that *then* the 20th day of the month was written over the 19th. The general fact, too, is ſurprizingly confirmed by the authority of Buchanan, who informs us in his hiſtory, that, the day after the ſupper, ſuch biſhops as were then in town were called upon to ſubſcribe the bond; "poſtridie, quod in urbe fuit epiſcoporum, convo-"catur—ut et ipſi ſubſcriberent §." And, in this authenticated view of the whole, no violence is offered to either of the copies; the rebel dates at York, and the rebel journal at Weſtminſter, are adhered to; and all the parts of the hiſtory are made to unite together.

* Hiſt. xviii. 355. † Appendix, N° v. ‡ Keith, 382—383; and Anderſon, i. 112. § Hiſt. xviii. 355.

But

But let me obſerve ſomething farther, concerning this memorable bond. That, which is called the Cotton copy, *is one of Cecil's papers* in the Cotton library. And from this circumſtance, and from the manner in which Cecil ſays it came into his hands, it muſt have been furniſhed by the rebels at the conference in England *. They do not appear indeed upon the journal of the commiſſioners, exhibiting any copy of the bond at Weſtminſter. But they do at York. An account of the fact is thus given us by the commiſſioners there. They "ſhewed unto us," they ſay, "a copie of a bond, bearing date the 19th "of April, 1567, *to the which* the moſt part of the "lords and counſaillors of Scotland HAVE *put to* "*their hands* †." This therefore was a copy with the ſubſcriptions to it. But that in Cecil's papers is not. It is however the very ſame, except only in this ſingle circumſtance. It was preſented to Cecil by John Read, Buchanan's own amanuenſis ‡. This Cecil himſelf avows. "Of whom," he ſays concerning John Read, "I had *this copy*, being in "*his own hand* §." And this points out to us the very channel, through which Cecil received the papers, that were not publicly exhibited by the rebels, and yet were furniſhed by their authority. Buchanan appears to have had the keeping of all their papers. They were lodged in his hands, that he might draw up his Detection from them. He had therefore an amanuenſis. This man from his

* Anderſon, i. 112. † Appendix, N° v. ‡ Keith, 382. § Anderſon, i. 112.

office became ſecretary to the commiſſioners. As amanuenſis, he copied the papers that were to be preſented to Cecil. Hence this paper, hence the rebel journal *, and hence all the other papers probably, are in his hand-writing. And, as ſecretary, he carried this paper particularly to Cecil himſelf. But whence did he derive it? From that very copy undoubtedly, which the rebels had already exhibited at York, and which was in his own cuſtody at preſent. We can even *demonſtrate* that he did. "There was alſo in the copie of the bande," ſay the commiſſioners at York, "A COPIE OF A WAR-"RANT,—which bears date *the 14th of Maye* †." And to Cecil's copy of the bond is actually ſubjoined A COPY OF A WARRANT, with theſe words preceding it; "to this the Queene gave her con-"ſent the night befoir the marriage, quhilk was the "14 day of May, the zeir of God forſaid, in this "forme ‡."

* Carte, iii. 818. † Appendix, N° v. ‡ Anderſon, i. 111.—This John Read is ſaid in the firſt volume of Calderwood's MS Hiſtory, at Glaſgow, to have been "ſervitur "and writer to Maſter George Buchanan." But a MS tranſlation of Buchanan's Hiſtory into Engliſh, which is equally at Glaſgow, aſſerts itſelf to have been made "by John Read, "eſquyar, brother to James Read, parſon of Banchor Ternam "whyle he lived: they both ly interr'd in the pariſh-church "of that town, ſeated not far from the bank of the river "Dee" (Nicholſon's Hiſt. Lib. iv. 122, edit. 1702). He was "ſervitur and writer" to Buchanan. But then he is called by his entitler here "eſquyar," with that petty affectation of conſequence, which is ſo ridiculous a feature of the times at preſent.

Yet

Yet why did the rebel ſecretary, when he copied the bond exhibited at York, leave out the ſubſcriptions that were to it? Becauſe he was ſo ordered by his maſters. Since the conference at York, they had altered their plan of proceedings in this, as well as in other reſpects. They had a reaſon for not ſuffering him to copy the ſubſcriptions now, though they had exhibited them before. There was *one* name in them, which they *now* thought it moſt prudent to conceal for the future. And they concealed this by withholding all. But Cecil was too cunning for them. He muſt have remembered the copy at York, in the letters of the commiſſioners, to have been exhibited *with* the ſignatures to it. He muſt have ſeen at once the unnatural appearance of it, *without* them, now. He marked the artifice. He reſolved to counteract it. Yet to call for the ſubſcriptions would not anſwer the end. They, who had ſuppreſſed, might vary them. He muſt act to the preſent moment. He therefore detained the ſecretary. He queſtioned him about the ſubſcriptions. He made his memory in ſome meaſure ſupply, what his pen had ſtudiouſly omitted. And in a paper, which he afterwards annexed to the bond, he wrote down with his own hand "the "names of ſuch of the nobility as ſubſcribed the "band, ſo far as John Read might remember *."

Whence then did Read derive the names of the ſubſcribers? From that very copy of the bond, which was now in his own cuſtody, to which were annexed the ſubſcriptions, and of which he had been

* Anderſon, i. 112.

taking

taking a tranſcript juſt before. He therefore could not be miſtaken in the names, which he mentioned as there. He could leaſt of all be miſtaken in the leading name. He might omit names that were actually there. But he could not mention any as there, which were not ſo. And he could not poſſibly mention a name, as the very firſt of all there, which was not there at all. Yet the VERY FIRST name in this rebel ſecretary's liſt, is MURRAY's. This is very aſtoniſhing. This is little known. But it is very certain, and ought to be known to all. And it lays open a large ſcene of villainy in that ſingular man, who affected in general a character juſt the very reverſe of what he merited; who particularly aſſumed a bluntneſs of ſpirit *, to conceal an hypocriſy of heart; ſo became a greater hypocrite from the aſſumption; and was in this and in all his conduct, I ſuppoſe, the moſt finiſhed hypocrite, that human viciouſneſs, working upon human wiſdom, has ever engendered.

He had gone off the ſtage juſt as the curtain drew up, at the ſeizure of Mary, and at the murder of Darnly. The one retirement reflects a ſtrong light upon the other. He went away only *one* day before the murder. He went away *ſeveral* before the ſeizure. He *then* retired on the 9th of April †. But he ſigned the bond which produced the ſeizure, *before* his departure. He was *therefore* the FIRST who ſigned it. So eager was he to puſh on a buſineſs, of which he reaped all the advantage after-

* Keith, 196. † Appendix, N° x.

wards!

wards! And ſo long had the plan been in agitation, among his party!

We have thus ſeen Cecil's copy of the bond. Let us now turn to Balfour's. This is in the Scotch college at Paris. It is alſo atteſted to be a genuine copy, by the formal ſubſcription of Sir James Balfour. He was clerk of regiſter, and clerk of the privy council, at the time of ſigning the bond. But that was not the reaſon, for lodging the original in his hands. It was not lodged there at firſt. Bothwell retained it for ſome time in his own poſſeſſion. He had it in his poſſeſſion, when he ſeized Mary on April the 24th afterwards. He actually ſhewed it to Mary, while he kept her a priſoner in Dunbar caſtle *. He therefore took it with him, when he removed her on May the 3d to the caſtle of Edinborough, of which Balfour, his friend, was then governor. He kept it in his own apartment, during his reſidence there. In that apartment he had "a green velvet deſk," in which he repoſited ſome of his moſt valuable papers. He repoſited in it "the principal band of the conſpira-"tors in that murder" of Darnly. He therefore repoſited in it, we may be ſure, the bond which had been ſigned at the ſupper, and which he had juſt before ſhewn to Mary at Dunbar. He left both there, on his paſſing with the Queen upon the 12th of May, from the caſtle to the court of ſeſſion, and from the court of ſeſſion to the palace †. Both remained there in quiet, till the aſſociates of his vil-

* Anderſon, i. 97. † Appendix, N° x.

lanies

lanies turned moſt perfidiouſly upon him, exclaimed againſt the guilt in which they had aſſiſted him, and on June 15th ruined all his fortunes at a blow. Then Balfour, with the general meanneſs of mankind on ſuch a revolution, broke open the velvet deſk, and made himſelf maſter of the papers. "He "found,—and ſaw, and had in his hands, the prin- "cipal band of the conſpirators in the murder." He alſo found, read, and took into his own cuſtody, the bond of aſſociation. In 1580 he was called upon to produce the former, as evidence againſt the Earl of Morton. And on January 30, 1581, he incloſed an atteſted copy of the latter, in a letter to Mary herſelf *.

All this gives as great an appearance of accuracy to the copy, as could be wiſhed for. Yet the reality is not anſwerable. On the whole, Balfour's copy is leſs accurate than Cecil's. Had Murray indeed delivered a formal and atteſted copy to the commiſſioners of England, it would undoubtedly have been as inaccurate as Balfour's. It would have been garbled for the ſame reaſon. It would moſt probably have been more garbled than his. But the deſign of Murray to conceal his own ſignature by ſuppreſſing all, and the deſire of Cecil to extort the names of the ſubſcribers from the memory of the ſecretary, accidentally coming in colliſion together, produced a copy ſuperior in exactneſs to Balfour's. Sir James ſuppreſſed the name of MURRAY, for the ſame reaſon which made

* Robertſon, ii. 463; and Keith, 382.

Murray

Murray willing to ſuppreſs all. On the ſame principle he ſuppreſſed HIS OWN too, Lord LINDSAY's, and the Earl of GLENCAIRN's. He ſuppreſſed their names and his own, becauſe he was ſending the liſt to MARY; and becauſe he and they had been moſt hypocritically active, in turning the very marriage, which they had puſhed on themſelves, into a ſtrong evidence of criminality in her. That he ſuppreſſed his own name and Lord Lindſay's, is plain from this authentic paper. "The maiſt part of the nobilitie," ſay the lords of Mary's ſide, "and principallie of the uſurparis, ſic as the Erle Morton, Lord Sempil, LORD LYNDSAY, and MR. JAMES BALFOUR, gave thair conſent to the Erle Bothwel" marrying Mary *. Sir James and Lord Lindſay, therefore, were ſubſcribers to the bond. Yet they do not appear in Sir James's copy of it. This omiſſion is a very groſs one. It ſpeaks to every mind. Nor can it be palliated by the excuſe, which has been unwittingly made for it by the *friends* of Mary, as if Sir James took down "only the names of the *great men*," and for that reaſon omitted theſe †. On *this* ground of acting, Sir James *would* have inſerted his own. And he *could* not have omitted Lord Lindſay's. The omiſſion of his own name is the leading clue to the reſt. The omiſſion of his own and Lord Lindſay's ſhews clearly, why he omitted Murray's and Glencairn's, when both appear in Cecil's copy. And all throw

* Goodall, ii. 361. † Ibid. i. 364.

ſuch

such a discredit over Balfour's boasted copy of the bond, as sets it much below Cecil's.

Nor let it be surmised, that if Murray had been a subscriber, and the very first subscriber, to the bond; his name would have been particularly mentioned by the peers of Mary's party, as one "principallie "of the usurparis" who signed it, and even in preference to "the Erle Morton, Lord Sempil, Lord "Lyndsay, and Mr. James Balfour." That Murray actually signed the bond, and was the very first who signed it; stands upon such a broad basis of evidence, as is not to be shaken by mere omissions. Negative evidence can never supersede positive. Nor is it wonderful, that the peers omitted Murray's name. They were not speaking from any copy of the bond. Even the Queen, even her embassador in France, had none till many years afterward; and then had it only from the keeper of the original, who transmitted it to her embassador in a letter to Mary, and so left it to be found among the embassador's papers a few years ago *. They were speaking only from memory. This might well deceive them. Murray was not present at the supper. Murray was actually absent from the kingdom at the time. Their recollection of both would unite to mislead them. And even if they had some indistinct remembrance, of seeing his name upon the paper that evening or the next day; yet they would be afraid to rely upon this, in contradiction to both and still more afraid to assert the fact upon the

* Keith, 382.

authori

authority of this, in a formal addreſs. We ſee them even omitting the name of a perſon, who was actually in the kingdom, actually at the ſupper, and more important than either Lord Semple, Lord Lindſay, or Sir James Balfour. This is the Earl of Glencairn, the moſt ferocious leader of the moſt ferocious ſectaries, and in himſelf and in his followers ſo much, what Mr. Pope *once* characterized the Engliſh ſectaries of the *laſt* century to be, a

——ſacrilegious brood,
Sworn to rebellion, principled in blood *.

Yet this very man is omitted by the peers; though we know him to have been equally a ſubſcriber with the others, and though he was ſo much more formidable in his power, his ſpirit, and his zeal, than any of them. And if their memory failed them concerning ſuch a hero in rebellious violence, "the "felleſt of the fell;" it might well be unable to give them all the certainty that they could act upon, concerning Murray. Yet the lords of Mary's party did afterwards get ſuch good intelligence, of Murray's having ſigned the bond; that Biſhop

* This man, on June the 17th 1567, the day after the Queen's impriſonment, "accompanied only by his domeſticks, "entered the Queen's chapel of Holyrood-houſe, and," with all the religious barbariſm of our own ſectaries in 1641, "not "only *demoliſhed the altar*, but *broke* the *pictures*, and *all* the "*other ornaments*, without regard to *price* or *workmanſhip*" (Crawford 42). "The preachers," ſays Spotſwood, 208, "did commend it as a work of great piety and zeal." And ſee Keith, 88, 401, 403, and 406—407, for Glencairn, as a very *Hot-ſpur* in rebellion and blood.

Leſley,

Leſley, in his Defence of Mary's honour, openly addreſſes him thus. Having firſt aſked, "Cal you "this—a voluntary aſſignation of the regiment to "YOU, Earle Murray?" he proceeds in this manner: "I aſke then, as before, of YOU, why, "through the ſpecial ſute and procurement of *your* "*faction*," meaning, as he ſays in another place, "Earle Morton, the Lord Simple, the Lord Lindzay, with their adherents and affinitie," "he," Bothwell, "was acquited, and ſet on cleare bord? "Why did YOU, with a great number of the nobilitie, MOVE FURTHER, AND WORKE THE SAID "MARIAGE" of the Queen with Bothwell, "as "moſt meete and neceſſary for your Quene? Why "did YOU, as BY YOUR HAND-WRITING IT WIL "APPEARE, proffer and promiſſe to HIM your faithful ſervice, and to HER your loyal obeiſance? "Why did none of *al your faction*," &c *. And the exactneſs of the writer, in diſtinguiſhing what he attributes to the whole party in general, and what to Murray in particular, ſerves to prove the accuracy of his obſervations, and to give a greater certainty to all.

Nor let it even be ſuppoſed, upon this hypotheſis of a wilful ſuppreſſion of names by Balfour, that he ſhould equally have ſuppreſſed others; and that, as he ſcreened Murray and Glencairn, he muſt alſo have ſcreened Morton, Glammis, Ruthven, and Semple. The fact is plain, that he did conceal the names of Murray and Glencairn. The fact is alſo

* Defence, 38, 42, and 26.

plain,

plain, that he equally concealed Lindsay's and his own. And problematical reasonings can never be adduced, in opposition to plain facts. Besides the public cause, he had reasons of private enmity and of private love, no doubt, to actuate him in this bold falsification of the bond. These would mingle with the public principles, pervert their direction, and destroy their uniformity. He therefore mentioned some, while he past by others. He put down Morton, and left out Murray. He passed over Glencairn, Lindsay, and himself, and he lighted upon Glammis, Ruthven, and Semple. And he noticed not Seton, Sinclair, Oliphant, Rosse-Hacat, Carleile, Hume, and Innermeith, some of whom we know to have been rebels*, and all of whom except Seton, who was probably omitted by a mere casualty, we therefore presume to have been such. But every one of these names, almost, is preserved very faithfully in Cecil's copy. The hasty call upon Read's memory, allowed no time for party-selection there. He gave in the names of rebels or of royalists, as they arose to his memory. And his copy accordingly answers to that description, which is given of the signatures by the peers of Mary; while Balfour's differs widely from it.

They say, that the *major* number of the subscribers was of *the rebels themselves*. This is a fact, which is of great consequence in the history of the bond. Yet it has never been observed. It appears however in a passage, that I have cited already:

* Goodall, ii. 65—66, and Anderson, ii. 228—229, and 233, compared with Goodall, ii. 354.

" the maiſt part of the nobilitie, and PRINCIPALLIE " of the USURPARIS,—gave thair conſent to the " Erle Bothwel." It is alſo confirmed by the authority of Bothwell himſelf, in his referring the bond, particularly, to *the great leaders of the Proteſtant party in Scotland.* In Mary's inſtructions to her embaſſador in France, for informing the King and Queen of France concerning her late marriage with Bothwell, ſhe apologizes for her marrying him in the PROTESTANT form, becauſe Bothwell inſiſted upon it; he, ſhe ſays, " having mair reſpect " to content YAME, by QUHAIS CONSENT GRANTIT " TO HIM BEFOIRHAND he thinkis he hes obtenit " his purpois,—than regarding our contentatioun*." In Cecil's copy, this is actually the caſe. It enumerates the Earls Murray, Argyle, Huntly, and Caſſils, Morton, Sutherland, Rothes, Glencairn, and Cathneſs; and the Barons Boyd, *Seton*, *Sinclair*, Semple, and *Oliphant*, Ogilby, *Roſſe-Hacat*, *Carleile*, Herris, Hume, and *Innermeith* †. Of theſe, I ſhall not conſider either Argyle or Boyd to be rebels. They were indeed in the original conſpiracy with the rebels. But they broke not out into rebellion with them ‡. They therefore cannot, in any propriety of ſpeech, come under the denomination of " uſurparis." And I ſhall rank them both under the royal banner. But of others we muſt determine differently. Some engaged in the uſurpation at firſt, and vigorouſly returned to their duty

* Anderſon, i. 99. † Anderſon, i. 112. I have *italiciſed* ſuch names as are omitted in either liſt, that the eye may catch them the ſooner. ‡ Crawford, 23, and 26.

afterwards.

afterwards. These must still be reputed as rebel subscribers to the bond. And we must repute all for rebels, whom we know to have been connected in rebellious designs with them at the time, if we do not know them to have deserted at the breaking out of the rebellion; and also all, that we find to have embarked with them in the usurpation, however they might revolt from them afterwards. But the Cotton copy has Murray, Morton, and Glencairn, Semple, Hume, and Innermeith, the *certain* followers of rebellion*; and Argyle, Huntly, Boyd, Seton, and Herris, the *undoubted* champions for royalty. Cathness must also be numbered with the former, though in July 1568 he took part with the latter; because we know him to have been actually combined with the rebels, in the month immediately preceding the execution of the bond, and ready to enter immediately upon rebellious courses with them; and because we know him not to have left them, till fifteen months afterward †. But

* Innermeith appears a rebel July 24, 1567, Keith, 427; and December 4, 1567, Goodall, ii. 66. † Goodall, i. 353 for his union with the rebels, and Anderson, iv. part i. 124, for his association with the royalists.—The list of peers in Spotswood, 208, and Keith, 408, represented in Stuart, i. 247, as a list of royalists, is only an enumeration of such nobles, as in June and July 1567 "did *either* assist the adverse party" to the rebels, "or then *behaved themselves as neuters*" (Spotswood, 208; see also Keith, 577). Nor are the names, I believe, much to be depended on. Ochiltree is one of them in Spotswood and in Knox (Keith, 408), though we know him to have been really acting with the rebels at the time (Keith, 406, 424,

Caſſils, Sutherland, Rothes, and Sinclair, Oliphant, Ogilby, Roſſe-Hacat, and Carleile, ſeem to take a middle place between both. They were indeed all royaliſts afterward. Yet the higheſt that we can aſcend in the courſe of their loyalty, is September the 12th and May the 8th 1568 *. And then we find Errol, a plain and evident rebel †, in company with them. We have SIX certain rebels, therefore, againſt FIVE certain royaliſts. But if we add Cathneſs to the former liſt, as we ought to do, we have SEVEN againſt FIVE. This is the amount of both, even if we leave out the doubtful ſigners. We might perhaps with propriety attach Sinclair, Oliphant, Roſſe-Hacat, and Carleile, to the cauſe of uſurpation. We are wholly ignorant of their conduct, prior to September and May 1568. And Balfour's omiſſion of their names, with thoſe of Murray and Glencairn, Hume and Innermeith,

424, &c.). The name is accordingly Ogilvie in a MS. of Spotſwood's (Keith, 408). But this does not clear away the error in Knox. And ſo groſs a miſtake in one name renders all ſuſpectable. See alſo Keith, 583, for Innermeith, July 20, 1567, ſubſcribing with the rebel chiefs, though mentioned in the liſt as either loyal or neuter; and July 24 acting boldly with the rebels (Keith, 427).

* Keith, 476, for Caſſils, Sutherland, Rothes, Sinclair, Oliphant, Ogilby, Roſſe-Hacat, and Carleile, May 8, 1568; and Goodall, ii. 353—354, for them, September 12, 1568. Carleile is in Keith *Carlieure*. But this is only a miſ-print (Douglas's Peerage, 121). And Roſſe-Hacat is only *Roſſe of Halk-head* (Peerage, 582), I ſuppoſe, abbreviated in pronunciation. He is therefore called ſimply Roſſe, in Keith and Goodall, ibid. † Keith, 476, and Goodall, ii. 65.

throws

throws a deep ſhade of ſuſpectability over them. Yet let us leave them to remain with their companions, in their original ſtate of dubiouſneſs. Let us add only what we are ſure ought to be added, thoſe two names of Balfour and Lindſay, which, in a ſingular coincidence of action, have been omitted by both the copies. And then we ſhall ſee the balance ſtill more in favour of the rebels, and Cecil's copy coming ſtill cloſer to the ſtandard ſet up by the peers of Mary. But in Balfour's this is juſt the reverſe. His copy exhibits for its ſubſcribers, the Biſhops of St. Andrews, Aberdeen, Whitern, Dumblain, Brechin, Roſs, the Iſles, and Orkney; the Earls Huntly, Argyle, Morton, and Caſſils, Sutherland, *Errol*, *Crawford*, Cathneſs, and Rothes; and the Barons Boyd, *Glammis*, *Ruthven*, Semple, Herris, Ogilby, and *Fleming*. But, of the eight biſhops, only one took part againſt Mary; the infamous Biſhop of Orkney. Of the nine earls, Morton and Errol certainly, and Cathneſs probably, ſtand oppoſed to Huntly and Argyle; while Crawford, whoſe loyalty firſt appears on May the 8th 1568 *, files off upon one ſide with Caſſils, Sutherland, and Rothes. Of the ſeven barons, we have Ogilby equally filing off; and Glammis, Ruthven, and Semple †, facing Boyd, Fleming, and Herris. And thus, inſtead of FIVE royaliſts againſt NINE rebels, as in Cecil's copy, we find in Balfour's TWELVE royaliſts againſt SEVEN rebels; and when

* Keith, 476, and Goodall, ii. 65. † Goodall, ii. 65.

we add Balfour and Lindſay to the number, TWELVE againſt NINE.

So clearly is Cecil's copy a more authentic one than Balfour's! Nor does any *number* of *inferior* lords, as has been ſurmiſed, appear to have been omitted by either. Cecil's indeed reckons only nine earls and eleven barons. Even Balfour's enumerates only nine earls, ſeven barons, and eight biſhops. And "the *maiſt* part of the nobilitie," ſay Mary's friends upon one ſide; and "the *moſt* "part of the lords and counſaillors of Scotland," ſay her rebels on the other; ſubſcribed to it. But then both theſe copies actually contain "the moſt "part" of the lords, that appeared in parliament at the time. This is evident from the rolls of parliament. Neither copy includes any of the abbots. Theſe were ſecular gentlemen, who had taken poſſeſſion of the abbies a few years before, and had then arrogated to themſelves the nobility of the abbots. They ſat as nobles, for the firſt time, in the rebel parliament of 1560. But they ſat not in council after the return of Mary, before May 15, 1565. And they ſat *regularly* in parliament for the firſt time, I believe, at this period*. They were yet, therefore, a kind of candidates only for a legal nobility. They were for that reaſon not invited, with the other nobles, to the ſupper. And for the ſame reaſon they were not ſolicited, like their half-brothers the biſhops, for their ſubſcriptions to the bond the day afterwards. But of the nine

* Anderſon's General Preface, xxxi, Keith, 277, and Anderſon, i. 113.

biſhops,

biſhops, of the eight earls beſides Bothwell himſelf, and of the ſixteen barons, that are upon the rolls, only ſeven barons, one earl, and one biſhop did *not* ſign *. Nor is this all. We know the parliamentary rolls to be conſiderably defective in this reſpect. We know Huntly, particularly, to have been at the ſupper; though he is not in the rolls. We know alſo Glencairn, Sinclair, Oliphant, Carleile, Hume, and Innermeith, to have ſubſcribed the bond on the diſſolution of parliament; though not one of them is noticed by the rolls of it. And theſe, added to the liſt of ſigning nobles, give a decided majority to the latter. Even if we take in the abbots to our account, we can enumerate only eighteen lords (beſides Bothwell), who were non-ſubſcribers; when there are (beſides him) twenty-ſix upon the rolls, and there were at leaſt ſeven more, who were actual ſubſcribers †.

In this view of the ſigners and of the parliament, the rebel ſecretary had no great exertion of memory to make. The whole liſt of them, as made up in Cecil's and Balfour's copies together, is only twenty-five, beſides the biſhops; eleven earls, and fourteen barons. He may have forgot Errol, Crawford, and Glammis, Ruthven, Fleming, Balfour, and Lindſay. But moſt probably he did not. Some or all of theſe may equally have ſubſcribed on the next day, the 20th. They would then be never inſerted in his copy of the ſubſcriptions, and his memory could never recur to them. His copy

* Anderſon, i. 113—114. † Ibid.

was taken that very night. This is evident from the date, and from the total omiſſion of the eight biſhops by him. His memory could never have leaped over them all; ranged too as they all ſtood at the head of the whole. He could only have omitted them, becauſe his copy did not contain them. And there is a ſlight intimation at the cloſe of his liſt, that at once ſhews the general accuracy, with which his memory recollected the names in his copy, and proves both his copy and his memory to have been confined, entirely, to the ſubſcriptions of the 19th. "Eglinton," ſays Cecil from him, "ſubſcribed not, but ſlipped away *." He not only recollected thoſe who were ſpecified in his copy. He alſo remembered one who was *not*. And he mentioned the reaſon, which had always been ſuggeſted for his non-appearance there; that though he was actually preſent at the ſupper, and actually ſtayed till the production of the bond, yet, when he found what ſort of buſineſs was going forward, he very wiſely ſtole out of the company, and departed without ſubſcribing.

This plan of a ſupper and a bond, in order to recommend himſelf to Mary for a huſband, was certainly an amazing ſtroke of villainy in Bothwell. It was a ſtroke of refined villainy, beyond the reach of his poor underſtanding. It was ſuggeſted, no doubt, by the rebels themſelves. The bond accordingly appears to have been ſigned by Murray himſelf, no leſs than TEN days beforehand. It was

* Anderſon, i. 112.

peculiarly

peculiarly calculated, though none of our hiſtorians have noted the connection, to produce the ſeizure of Mary's perſon, to lead on to the brutal act of raviſhment, and to terminate at laſt in her neceſſary marriage with the raviſher. And it actually ended in a long train of miſeries, to Mary and to all the kingdom.

But ſtill did Bothwell uſe any armed force to produce the ſignatures? It is not credible that he did. It is indeed ridiculous to ſuppoſe he could. Yet let me additionally obſerve, that this circumſtance of terror is plainly of a later date than the bond or the ſupper, and was even fabricated poſteriorly to the formation of the rebel journal; being totally omitted there, and omitted even when an apology is attempted to be made for ſigning the bond. "The "ſame nycht," it ſays, "the lordis paſt the band "efter ſupper to the Erle Bothwell, *being drawin* "*ſecretlie be him to the ſupper* *." And, what is ſtill more deciſive, the rebels themſelves even *diſproved* the circumſtance effectually, *in the very moments* in which they *firſt* aſſerted it. "In prouſe "that they did it not willinglie," ſay the commiſſioners of Elizabeth, "they procured a warrant, "which was now ſhewed unto us, bearing date the "19th of Aprill, ſigned with the Quene's hand, "whereby *ſhe gave them licence to agree to the ſame*; "affirming that, before they had ſuch warrant, "there *was none of them that did or wold ſet to* "*their hands*, ſaving onlie the Earl of Huntley †."

* Appendix, N° x. † Ibid. N° v.

Where

Where then are the "two hundred harkebuſiers," that compelled them to ſubſcribe for fear? Nowhere, plainly. There was no compulſion, they allow themſelves. There was only a licence. Till this was produced, they would not ſubſcribe. And, when it was produced, they ſubſcribed, not for fear of Bothwell's "harkebuſiers," but from reverence to the Queen's licence. So clear is it even from the rebels themſelves, that Bothwell made uſe of no force in procuring the ſubſcriptions! The warrant produced at York was aſhamed to ſhew itſelf at Weſtminſter *, and was therefore confeſſed to be ſpurious. It was too compleatly ridiculous in its nature indeed, to be obtruded upon the faith of any, that had ſpirit to examine and ſagacity to diſcern a groſs incredibility. Mary is repreſented by it, as wanting her nobles to recommend Bothwell, and therefore licenſing them under her ſign manual to recommend: when ſhe might have taken him without any recommendation at all; and when ſhe might as well have taken him without one, as have openly and formally licenſed them to give one. But it ſerves very ſtrongly to prove the falſity of the force aſſerted. In concurrence with the rebel journal alſo, it ſhews the rebels to have firſt formed the ſtory of the harquebuſiers at the York conference, and not to have properly incorporated it yet with their other falſhoods. And, as I cannot but obſerve at the cloſe of all, Murray muſt have been one of the moſt impudent of *human* be-

* Goodall, ii. 235—236, 256—258, and 87.

ings,

ings, to pretend, as he thus did by his deputies at York, that the Queen granted a warrant, "bearing "date the 19th of Aprill," and licenſing the perſons to ſign; that all the peers, except Huntly, refuſed to ſign before the warrant was produced; and that at laſt they ſigned, becauſe they were compelled by Bothwell's harquebuſiers: when, at that very inſtant, *his own name*, and not Huntly's, appeared in *his own copy of the bond* as exhibited at York and reported at Weſtminſter, *the very firſt* upon the file of ſubſcriptions; when he was well known to have left Scotland ſome days before the ſupper, and had actually left it no leſs than ten before *; and when therefore he muſt have ſubſcribed at a time, at which there was no warrant exiſting, and in which there could be no compulſion uſed.

I have entered into this long examination of the whole fact, partly becauſe I thought I could throw a new light upon it; partly becauſe it ſhews the villainy of the rebels in a new point of view; and principally becauſe it proves Bothwell, at this period, not to have been in any poſſible humour of miſtruſting the Queen. He had formed his plan for marrying her. He had been ſecuring himſelf on Saturday and Sunday from any interruption in the act, by procuring ſubſcriptions to his bond of aſſociation. He had nothing now to do, but execute the deed that he had projected. He ſtood on the very tiptoe of ambitious expectation, no doubt. His vanity flattered him with the hope, of gaining the Queen's heart. His pride was continually holding

* Appendix, N° x.

up

up to his mind, the preſent proof, as he thought it, of his vaſt popularity among the nobles. And all muſt have been hope and joy within him. Yet theſe moments above all others has the letter-writer ſelected, for Mary to complain of his diſtruſts. He has been buſy in procuring the bond, with a view to marry her; yet he is miſtruſtful of her. He has been ſingularly active, in ſhewing his regard and affection for her; yet, all the while, he is making her mad with his expreſſed diſtruſts. And in the gayeſt and happieſt minutes of his whole life, when

> Hope elevates, and Joy
> Brightens his creſt;

even then, he is repreſented as peculiarly ſuſpicious and rude.

§ III.

§ III.

LETTER THE SIXTH (1).

I.—" Of the place and the tyme, I remit myſelf " to zour brother and to zow (2). I will follow " him, and will faill in nathing of my part (3). He " findis mony difficulteis (4); I think he dois ad- " vertiſe zow thairof, and quhat he deſyris for the " handling of himſelf (5). As for the handling of " myſelf, I hard it anis weill devyſit (6)."

I.—" Du lieu et de l'heure, je m'en rapporte a " voſtre frere et a vous (2). Je le ſuivray, et ne " faudray en rien de ma part (3). Il trouve beau- " coup de difficultez (4): je penſe qu'il vous en a " adverty, et de ce qu'il deſiroit pour bien jouer ſon " perſonnage (5). Quant a jouer le mien, je ſcay " comme je m'y dois gouverner, me ſouvenant de " la façon que les choſes ont eſté deliberées (6)."

(1) When was this letter written? There is no note of time in it. But from the whole turn and tenor it appears, not to have been written till two days at leaſt after the former. This carries us at once beyond the line of time, which Mary ſtaid at

at Stirling. And it concurs with all before, to prove the forgery plain.

(2) Behold the backward and forward operations of this and the preceding letter. Bothwell was to ſettle the time and place, and ſend Mary word. He does not do this. He ſends Huntly after her to do this, and to ſettle another point concerning Huntly himſelf. Mary refuſes to ſettle with Huntly. She ſends off an expreſs to Bothwell. She inſiſts upon his chuſing the place. Of the time ſhe ſays nothing. But ſhe now refers the time as well as the place, not merely to Bothwell, but to him and to Huntly; to the very man in conjunction with Bothwell, with whom ſhe had refuſed to ſettle it before, when Bothwell ſent him to her. All this reciprocation of reference is done, we muſt remember, at the diſtance of ſix-and-thirty miles, and within the compaſs of one whole day and one evening. And, what aggravates the whole, it is plain from her manner, that ſhe has heard from Bothwell in anſwer to her firſt letter; and that ſhe is now writing a reply to his anſwer.—"Time," Scotch; "homme," French, as miſprinted in Goodall, for "heure," as in Buchanan.

(3) How different is this from the preceding letter! "I advertiſit zow weill," ſhe *then* ſaid, "to "tak heid of zour fals brother-in-law;" and yet Bothwell, ſhe complains, had ſent him to ſettle all the circumſtances of the ſeizure with her. "Zour "negligence," ſhe adds, "dois put us baith in the "danger of ane fals brother." And "put na

" traiſt in zour brother," ſhe concludes, " for this " interpryſe; for he hes tald it, and is alſo all " aganis it." But *now* ſhe remits the place and the time to this very man and Bothwell together, and declares boldly that ſhe " will follow him." Her ſickneſs too is all gone off. She no longer wiſhes ſhe " wer deid, for I ſé all gais ill." She " will fol- " low Huntly," and, " will faill in nathing of her " part."

(4) Juſt now, ſhe was leaving the time and the place to Huntly and Bothwell, and declaring ſhe would follow Huntly without fail. But here we find Huntly, whom ſhe was to *follow*, is not ſo forward as herſelf. He ſhrinks behind her. And " he findis mony difficulties" in a plan, of which, the very moment before, the time and the place were to be ſettled by him and Bothwell. All this is amazingly contradictory. But the contradictorineſs is heightened by a fact. In the laſt letter, Huntly was ſetting off for Edinborough. " I dar " not traiſt zour brother," ſhe there ſays, " with thir " letteris nor with the diligence." Yet he is now with her. She has alſo received a letter from Bothwell, which has altered her opinion of Huntly, and makes her remit the time and the place to him and Bothwell, and to declare that ſhe will follow Huntly. And Huntly has gone to Edinborough ſince the laſt letter, has ſettled the time and place with Bothwell, and has returned with an account of both to Mary;—all within the compaſs of four-and-twenty hours. He moved upon a witch's broom.

He

He beſtrode the wooden horſe of the Perſian Tales. Or he ſailed in an air-balloon.

(5) This augments all the difficulties of the chronology. But indeed, when once the laws of nature are broken through, a great deviation may as well be allowed as a little one. And a palace may riſe "like an exhalation" in five hours, as well as in fifty. Huntly, returned a ſecond time from Edinborough, ſtill finds many difficulties in the buſineſs, and ſtill is referring (as Mary thinks) to Bothwell at Edinborough, for the ſolution of them. This is ſurely one of the buſieſt days in all the hiſtory of the human race. It is full of uncommon activity. Huntly has been at Edinborough, has conſulted, has returned, is now ſending back to Edinborough, and is to have an anſwer again before the morning. And, what perhaps marks it ſtill more, all this activity hitherto has been buſtle without efficiency. The time and place indeed are ſettled, we muſt ſuppoſe. But how the honour of Huntly is to be ſalved, is not ſettled. He has been ſo eager about Mary's and Bothwell's parts in the play, that he has totally overlooked his own. Yet he was, when we laſt ſaw him, ſo much averſe to the whole, ſo "all aganis it;" that he had even betrayed the ſcheme, "he hes tald it." He was then alſo ſolicitous to know, what Bothwell "ſuld do tuiching "him." Mary very naturally forgot this in her late letter. She might well forget *his* concerns, when ſhe forgot a material one of her own, the *time* of the ſeizure. And, though he remembered the time

time for her as well as the place, he wholly forgot his own honour.

(6) "As for the handling of myſelf, I hard it "anis weill devyſit," Scotch. I once thought "hard" to be a miſ-print for "hald," and the ſenſe to be, I hold it to have been well deviſed once. But "hard" is as good or better, and ſignifies, that it was once well deviſed in her hearing. Either way, the clauſe ſhews the plan of the ſeizure to have been ſettled, before Mary left Edinborough. Common ſenſe ſhews that it muſt have been. But then common ſenſe ſhews equally, that not merely the general plan would be ſettled, that the circumſtances muſt have been ſettled with it. They were the neceſſary parts of the plan. They were neceſſary to be ſettled before ſhe went away. Her ſtay was ſo peculiarly ſhort at Stirling, that, if they were not ſettled before ſhe went, the plan itſelf could not be executed as ſhe returned. This paſſage even ſays that they were, by declaring that the very line of behaviour, which the Queen was to purſue, had been ſettled to her ſatisfaction. "As for the handling of "myſelf, I hard *it* anis weill devyſit." And this cuts up theſe four letters by the roots, at once.

The French verſion here is very ſtrange. "Pour "bien jouer ſon perſonnage" in the preceding ſentence, and "a jouer le mien" in this, ſeem to *me* very abſurd ſubſtitutes for "pour bien ſe conduire" and "a me conduire." But the tranſlation of "I "hard it anis weill devyſit," into "je ſcay comme "je m'y dois gouverner, me ſouvenant de la façon

" que les choſes eſté deliberées," is moſt ridiculouſly looſe and wild. Yet the Remarker, in his uſual ſtrain of *ſombrous* confuſedneſs, obſerves *; that in the Scotch " a material part of the French is " omitted, and the reaſon ſuppoſed to have been " given by the Queen is loſt in the tranſlation," meaning the original. And thus that Ovidian addition of Dryden's to Virgil,

And her laſt ſighs came bubbling up in air,

proves Dryden's to be the original, and Virgil's only a tranſlation; becauſe " a material part" of the Engliſh is " omitted" in the Latin, and the effect of Juturna's ſorrowful retreat under the waters " is " loſt in the tranſlation."—The expreſſion " hand- " ling of himſelf" and " handling of myſelf," is not ſo *antique*, but ſome traces of it have come down to modern times. Keith, ſpeaking of Mary's miniſters at one time, calls them " thoſe who had pre- " ſently the chief *handling* about the Queen." And the language carries no particular diſſonance with it, even to our Engliſh ears at preſent.

II.—" Methinkis that zour ſervices, and the " lang amitie (1); having ye gude will of ye lordis " (2); do weill deſerve ane pardoun, gif abone the " dewtie of ane ſubject yow advance yourſelf (3),

* P. 31—32.

" not

" not to conſtrane me (4), bot to aſſure yourſelf of " ſic place neir unto me (5), that uther admoni- " tiounis or forane perſwaſiounis may not let me " from conſenting to that, that ye hope your ſervice " ſall mak yow ane day to attene: and, to be " ſchort,"

II.—" Il me ſemble que voſtre long ſervice, et " la grande amitie (1) et faveur que vous portent " les ſeigneurs (2), meritent bien que vous obte- " niez pardon, encor qu'en cecy vous vous avan- " ciez aucunement par deſſus le devoir d'un ſubjet " (3). Or eſt-il que vous entreprenez de le faire, " non pas afin de me forcer et tenir captive (4), " ains pour vous rendre aſſeuré pres de moy (5), " et que les remonſtrances et perſuaſions des autres " ne m'empeſchent de conſentir a ce que vous eſ- " perez que voſtre ſervice vous fera un jour obtenir. " Bref, c'eſt pour vous"

(1) " Zour ſervices and the lang amitie," Scotch; " *long* ſervice, et la *grande* amitie," French.

(2) This alludes to the bond of aſſociation. But the French has taken the " amitie," which ſhould go with the " ſervices," and ſo expreſs in conjunction the fidelity ſhewn by Bothwell to the crown, and the friendſhip ſhewn by the crown to him; and united it to the " gude will of ye " lordis."

(3) The enormity of ſeizing the Queen's perſon, and carrying her captive to the caſtle of Dun-

bar, wanted ſome covering from the hand of forgery, to make us believe it was done by Mary's conſent. This covering is here attempted to be ſpread over it. But the leaf-gold is ſtretched out ſo thin, that we ſee the rottenneſs of the wood below it.—" Gif," Scotch; " encor que," abſurdly, French: " en cecy," French, as abſurdly added: and " aucunement," French, interpolated in direct oppoſition to the ſenſe.

(4) The French, beginning a new ſentence, prefixes this clauſe, " or eſt-il que vous entreprenez " de le faire," and then renders " conſtrane me" by " de me forcer et tenir captive." The Remarker, with a *prudence that is the better half of his valour*, paſſing over the former variation unnoticed, ſettles upon the latter. And " this is imper- " fect" in the Scotch, he ſays, " and does not expreſs " half of the meaning of the French."

(5) " Sic place neir unto me," Scotch; " pres " de moy," French; the words " ſic place" being omitted, though important in themſelves, and though leading to the next clauſe.

" to mak yourſelf ſure of the lordis, and fré to " mary (1); and that ye ar conſtranit for your " ſuretie, and to be abill to ſerve me faithfully (2), " to uſe ane humble requeiſt, joynit to ane impor- " tune actioun (3)."

III.—

III.—" And, to be ſchort (4), excuſe yourſelf, " and perſwade thame the maiſt ye can (5), yat ye " ar conſtranit to mak perſute aganis zour enemies " (6). Ze ſall ſay aneuch, gif the mater or ground " do lyke zow; and mony fair wordis to Lething- " toun (7). Gif ye lyke not the deid, ſend me " word (8), and leif not the blame of all unto " me (9)."

" aſſeurer des ſeigneurs, et vous mettre en liberté " de vous marier (1); comme y eſtant contraint " pour voſtre ſeureté, a ce que puis apres me ſer- " vant loyaument (2), vous me puiſſiez preſenter " une humble requeſte, conjointe toutesfois avec " importunité (3).

III.—" (4) Excuſez vous donc, et les perſuadez " le plus que pourrez (5), que vous eſtes forcé par " neceſſité de faire ainſi voſtre pourſuite a l'encontre " de vos ennemis (6). Vous aurez dequoy dire " aſſez, ſi l'argument et le ſubjet vous plaiſt; et " donnez beaucoup de belles paroles a Ledington " (7). Que ſi cela ne vous ſemble bon, adver- " tiſſez m'en (8), et n'en mettez pas du toute la " faute ſur moi (9)."

(1) How would the ſeizing of the Queen make him " ſure of the lordis, and fré to mary?" It would make him ſure of them, I ſuppoſe, by the future marriage of her. But how then would it make him free to marry? By the ſubſequent divorce from his own wife, no doubt. He ſeized

Mary on April 24, and the first process of divorce was issued the 26th *. Yet all this leads to a detection of the forgery. The obtaining of a divorce is here made to result from the seizure. But it was intended long before. The preparatory steps had also been taken long before. Even in the second of Murray's own contracts it is expressly declared, that so early as the 5th of April Bothwell's wife "hes "thairunto consentit †." Even the "procuratory," by which she authorized her proctor to appear for her before the commissaries of Edinborough, and to institute a suit for divorce, was signed by her on or before that day. "April 5th," says the rebel journal itself, "the second contract of marriage, per verba "de præsenti, was maid and wryttin be my Lord of "Huntly, quha for his restoring agane the forfal-"tour," to have his forfeiture taken off, "*had* pur-"chasit ane *procuratory subscryvit with his sister's* "*hand*, then wyif to Bothwell ‡." The divorce therefore did not depend upon the *seizure*, though it undoubtedly was occasioned by the hope of a marriage with the Queen. And the letter, which makes it to depend upon that, cannot be genuine.

(2) How would the seizure ensure Bothwell's safety, and enable him to serve her faithfully? Exaltation, not safety, was his object. Nor could he serve her more faithfully as a husband, than as a common subject. Nor could Mary, in any view, think these were his motives. If he and she were

* Appendix, N° x. † Ibid, N° xiv. ‡ Ibid, N° x.

linked

linked in adultery together, her's would be to secure her lover entirely to herself, and his to obtain all the honour and elevation that he could reach. And suggestions, so contrary to all this, could never come from the pen of Mary. They came indeed from Bothwell originally. They are the very arguments used by Bothwell to Mary, when he had seized her person, and secured her in Dunbar-castle *. They were very natural to Bothwell, who wanted to colour over his profligate ambition with some less offensive pretences. But they are very unnatural in Mary, who could have had no profligacy of ambition to cover. And the forgery is betrayed at once; by the act of borrowing suggestions from a paper, posterior in date to the present letter; and by the absurdity of transferring the suggestions, from the real and natural user, to one who could not use them at all.

(3) "Ane humble requeist joynit with ane "importune actioun," Scotch; "une humble re-"queste, conjointe toutesfois avec importunité," French. "The Scottish translator," says the Remarker †, still keeping his old *mumpsimus* in spite of the new *sumpsimus*, "does but guess at the im-"port of this passage, and he guesses ill." The French means, he adds, "a humble but earnest pe-"tition in the way of marriage." But *should* not it mean more? Is this *all* that has been so long alluded to in the letter? Is it indeed any part of that?

* Anderson, i. 96. † P. 32.

Is not the whole aim and ſubſtance of the letter, concerning an "actioun," and a very "impor-"tune" one indeed? The fact is, that the Scotch keeps ſteadily to the prevailing idea of the letter, and the French deſerts it at a leap; that the Scotch purſues the ſubject of the ſeizure, only adding its neceſſary adjunct, a petition for marriage, to it; and that the French ſinks the ſeizure from the ſight, and makes the petition to ſtand for both. And thus the cypher, which in union with its proper figure was of real conſequence, is compelled to appear by itſelf, when it could be of no conſequence at all; and yet is ſuppoſed by our arithmetician, to carry even more than the conſequence of both with it. "To be abill to ſerve me faith-"fully," Scotch; "a ce que puis apres me ſervant "loyaument, vous puiſſiez," French. The French ſays, as the Remarker himſelf obſerves, "untill, in "conſequence of your loyal ſervices, you might "preſent a petition." But the meaning is, as the Scotch ſays, that, to be able to ſerve me faithfully, you are conſtrained to uſe a requeſt and a ſeizure. *That* makes Bothwell to ſeize Mary, till, in conſequence of his loyal ſervices done after the ſeizure, he could requeſt her to marry him; which is infinitely abſurd. And *this* makes him to ſeize her and requeſt her marriage, that he might be able to ſerve her the more faithfully afterwards. Yet the Remarker adduces this whole paſſage as a proof, that the French is the original and the Scotch a tranſlation.

(4) "To

(4) "To be ſchort," omitted in the French.

(5) Bothwell is directed to excuſe himſelf to the lords, and to "perſwade thame the maiſt he can," that his intended ſeizure of the Queen was neceſſary in itſelf. This implies a conſiderable time yet to paſs, before the Queen was to be ſeized. So far it concurs with the reſt of this letter, and all the former letters. And ſo far alſo it concurs with the whole of both, to prove the forgery. But it likewiſe affords a diſtinct evidence of the forgery itſelf. There were few or no lords in Edinborough at this very time, to whom he could make uſe of his excuſes and perſuaſions. Mary muſt alſo have known of this, before ſhe ſet out. The parliament, which had brought the lords to Edinborough, being diſſolved upon Saturday; they would naturally be gone from it. Accordingly, the rebels themſelves ſhall ſhew us that they were. They exhibited unto the commiſſioners at York "a copie of "a bond bearing date the 19th of Aprill 1567, to "the which *the moſt part of the lords and coun-* "*ſaillors of Scotland* have put to their hands—: it "appeared alſo, that the ſelf-ſame daye of the date "of this bond—the Earl of Huntley was reſtored by "parliament; which parliament was *the occaſion* that "*ſo many lords were there aſſembled*; which being all "invited to a ſupper by Bothwell, were—induced "—to ſubſcribe to the ſaid bond—;" and, "the "next morning by four of the clocke, *fewe or none* "*of them* were left in the towne, but departed "without taking their leave *." And there muſt

* Appendix, N° V.

therefore

therefore, on the Monday and Tuesday afterwards, have been "none of them" at all "left in the towne," for Bothwell to try his excuses or persuasions upon.

(6) What enemies had Bothwell *at this time?* He had none, except those who were leading him to the seizure of the Queen, in order to ruin both him and her. Yet these the *adulterous* Bothwell and the *adulterous* Mary could not have considered as enemies. And all the lords assembled in parliament, being "the most part of the lords and "counsaillors of Scotland," had just before shewn a remarkable instance of their seeming attachment to him.—"Yat ye are constranit to mak persute "aganis zour enemies," Scotch; "que vous estes "forcée par necessité de faire ainsi vostre poursuite "a l'encontre de vos ennemis," French. Knowing, as we do know, the Scotch to be the original and the French a translation; it is an object of literary curiosity, to see with what earnestness and eagerness, with what wrigglings and writhings, the Remarker endeavours to prove true by verbal criticisms, what we are certain to be false from fact. But it is peculiarly curious to observe, what little points he fastens upon at times, in order to prove it. And we have a lively instance before us here. "The translator," he says, and means the Scotchman, "not understanding the sense of *poursuite*, has "made Bothwell *pursue* his enemies, not solicite "the Queen's hand;" as if, even on this interpretation, the Scotch "persute" was not just the same in meaning with the French "poursuite;" and as if

the

the real interpretation was not, that Bothwell was obliged to seize her person, and then solicit her marriage, in order to make pursuit against his enemies.

(7) This is another of the false mint-master's marks. Bothwell before was to make excuses and to try persuasions, upon lords that were *not* at Edinborough. He is now to speak "mony fair wordis "to Lethington," *who was actually with the Queen at the time.* This is an amazing stroke of imposture. Yet it is a plain one. "April 24," says the rebel journal itself concerning the seizure, Bothwell "met hir upon the way, seemit to ravish "hir, and tuik Huntly and the SECRETARIE pri- "soneris, &c. *" That this was secretary Maitland of Lethington, cannot be doubted. So Mary says †, that on her surrendering herself to the rebels at Carberry Hill on June 15, 1567, and their rude behaviour to her in Edinborough, she sent "her "secretare Lethingtown" to them. So Lesley makes Huntly and Argyle speak of "secretaire "Lethingtoun" twice, in their account of the conference at Craigmillar, during the month of November or December 1566 ‡. A MS. also cited by Bishop Keith and Dr. Robertson, which is only Crawford's Memoirs as they stood in the original, and not as they now stand in the printed copy §, informs us expressly; that, when she was seized, she was "accompanied with the noble Earl of Huntly,

* Appendix, N° x. † Goodall, ii. 165. ‡ Ibid. ii. 317, and 318. § Keith, 330; and Appendix, N° xiii.

" and ſecretary Maitland of Lethington *." And another cotemporary writer, even Melvill, ſays that Bothwell " took the Earl of Huntly, *the ſe-* " *cretary Lidingtoun*," &c. † Here then is a *demonſtration* of the forgery; and one that conſpires with a variety of others to ſhew, that the letters have never been attentively examined before.

" Ze ſall ſay aneuch," Scotch; " vous aurez de- " quoy dire aſſez," French. This is another of the Remarker's proofs. And to ſhew us where the force of it lies, he italicizes *ſall* in the Scotch, and tranſlates the French " you will." He did not know what theſe very letters ſhew in every page, that *ſhall* was generally uſed for *will* at this period.

(8) This concurs to ſhew, that ſome time was yet to intervene between the preſent letter and the ſeizure, and ſo unites to prove the forgery.

(9) Before I cloſe the Section, let me make two or three obſervation upon what has recently occurred in it.

The circumſtance concerning Lethington is the more amazing, as we have hitherto ſuppoſed Lethington himſelf to be the very fabricator of the letters. Yet it is incredible, that in *this* work he could ſo far forget his own ideas and his own life, as to fix himſelf at Edinborough, when he was actually at Stirling, and to overlook his own preſence at the very memorable ſeizure of the Queen

* Keith, 383; and Robertſon, Diſſ. 19. † P. 80.

by

by Bothwell. And this incredibility ſeems to bear forcibly againſt the ſuppoſition. But it cannot bear it down. The latter is too ſtrongly grounded, to be overſet even by an incredibility. This indeed is oppoſed by another. For, even if he was *not* the perſonal fabricator of the letters, yet as he was certainly a peruſer of them, and a careful peruſer too, ſince he united with others to produce them at York, and offered with others to ſwear them to be Mary's writing; it is equally incredible, that in *this* work he ſhould ſo far forget his own ideas and his own life, as to fix himſelf at Edinborough when he was actually at Stirling, and to overlook his own preſence at the very memorable ſeizure of the Queen by Bothwell. The oppoſed incredibilities thus counteract each other, like contrary impulſes of air; and enable us to ſtand unmoved upon our own ground, between them. And all ſerves to ſhew in a moſt convincing manner, the aſtoniſhing hurry and negligence which attended the creation or reviſal of theſe famous letters, in the very producers of them.

Having obviated this argument againſt the preſumed fabrication of the letters by Lethington, let me obviate another that has ariſen at times to my own mind, and will probably ariſe to the mind of my reader. There is ſuch a ſtrain of low breeding in the language, in the addreſs, and in the deportment, of the Queen and her courtiers; as could never (we are apt to ſurmiſe) be thrown in by a Lethington, a man converſant for years with the court, and a man for years attendant upon the

Queen. Yet this cannot in reality affect the pretenſions of Lethington, to the honour of this capital forgery. He did not ignorantly or inadvertently fall into theſe abſurdities. He fell into them wilfully. He was obliged to do ſo. He could not write of the Queen and her court, as he knew them to be. It would not comport with his flagitious deſigns, to delineate them in their native colours to the public. He muſt repreſent her in maſquerade. And he muſt repreſent them as equally maſquerading with her. He accordingly holds her out to the eye of the world, and them as catching their manners by reflexion from her, the very reverſe of what they were. He has dreſt up the accompliſhed and dignified Queen, all whoſe deportment was a frank but poliſhed courteſy, and all whoſe language was propriety and delicacy itſelf, in the looſe garb of the loweſt adultereſs. He has ſhewn her unaccompliſhed, undignified, unpoliſhed, and very groſs. He has given her all the bold familiarities of a common hoyden. He has ſuperadded all the vulgarities of a common whore. And he has thus written a ſet of letters for her, which in every feature of their complexion, and in the ſtronger features peculiarly, deny all reſemblance to hiſtory, and diſclaim all affinity to Mary.

Yet ſtill how ſhall we account for his ſtrange inſertion of his own name in the letters? He *muſt* know in the moments of compoſition, that he was actually with the Queen at the ſeizure. No hurry could efface this from his memory. No negligence could keep him from attending to it there. How came

came he then to write, in ſo direct a contradiction to fact, and in ſuch an impudent violation of his own memory? This can only be accounted for, I believe, from a very ſignal ſort of myſtery in the frame and texture of his mind. He was, ſay Crawford's Memoirs, "a man of great parts, well verſed "in all the intreagues of the court, and the incli- "nations of the common people; ſingularly *cun-* "*ning*, *bold*, and eloquent, but *prone to changes*; and "ſo fond of being great, or of appearing conſider- "able, in a party or cabal, that no tyes of honour "or friendſhip could bind him to the intereſt of "his ſovereign or his country *." No ties of friendſhip or of honour could even bind him to his own party. The ſame principle went on regularly in its operations. And Lethington was uniformly a traitor to all his connections. Buchanan accordingly wrote a libel againſt him in 1570, under the title of CHAMELEON. In that he recites ſome curious facts, which lay this retired and unobſerved part of Lethington's character very open before us. "The firſt experience the ſaid Quene" regent "had "of him," he ſays, "was in ſending him to France "for certane biſines occurrent for the tyme, quhair "he did his commiſſioun *ſa weill to his awin inten-* "*tion*, and *ſa far from the Quenis mynd*, that *he* "*diſſavit the Cardinal of Lorayne*, quhà untill that "day thocht himſelf, not only auld practicien, bot "alſo maiſter, zea Doctor Subtilis, in ſic matters "of negociatioun." After Mary's arrival in Scotland, when he was acting in union with Murray,

* P. 5—6.

"ſche,"

" ſche," Mary, " then being deliberat to diſtroy " him," Murray, " be the Erll of Huntlie, went to " the North, and he," Murray, " in her company; " and howbeit the treſſoun wes oppynnit planelie, " and Johne, Gordoun lying not far of the " town," *Aberdeen* *, " with an greit powar, and the " Erll of Murray expreſslie ludgeit in ane hous ſe- " parate frae all uther habitatioun, and his deid " [death] be diverſe wayis ſocht; this Chamæleon, " quether of ſempilnes, or for layk of foirſicht, or " for bauldnes of courage, I refer to every manis " conſcience that doith knaw him, *he alone could ſe* " *no treſſoun*, could *feare no dangeur*, and *wald nevir* " *beleif that the Erll of Huntlie wald tak in hand ſic* " *ane interpryis.*" On the intended marriage of the Queen with Darnly, when ſome objected to it on account of religion, " the Chamæleon *in ſecreit* " flatterit the Quene, and *openlie* tuke the colour of " religioun." Afterwards " being ſent divers " tymes to commune with the Lord Flemyng," he " *evir* did the *contrair of the propoſe that he wes ſend* " *for.*" And when Murray was ſetting out for the conference at York, being doubtful " quhethir he " ſould tak him with himſelf, or leif him beheind, " for, taking him, he *doubtit not bot he wald hinder* " *the actioun in al manner poſſibill*, and, leaving him " behind, that following his natural complexioun " *he wald trubill the cuntre*, in ſick manner that it " ſould not be eaſelie in lang tyme brocht to reſt " agane; at lang having deliberat to take him

* Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, 87.

" with

" with him, and *perſwadit him bayth be giftis of* " *landis and money*, he fand to be trew in deid all " that he ſuſpectit afore; for *everie nycht* in a man- " ner *he communicat all that wes amangis us with* " *ſum of our adverſaris*, and *armit thame ſa far* " *as he culd agains the ſaid Regent* *." Such a very extraordinary man does Lethington appear, under the pourtraying pencil of Buchanan! Nor can we make many deductions from this imputed extravagance of perfidiouſneſs in him, becauſe of the ſlanderous tendency of Buchanan's temper. Some of theſe facts we know to be true. All of them ſerve only to give us back the image, a little enlarged and a little disfigured perhaps, which the mirror of hiſtory has held up to us before. Lethington felt a perpetual verſatility in his ſpirit, a perpetual unfaithfulneſs in his principles, and a perpetual fund of reſources, at the call of both, in the dexterities of his own management. He was happy to render himſelf an important aſſociate to his party, by the exertions of his natural cunning. But he was alſo happy, in a ſtrange ſuperfœtation of cunning, to be plotting againſt the very party which he was actually ſerving at the time. To undermine his enemies, and to countermine his friends, appears to have been the great ambition of his refining genius. And thus, in the very moments when he was fabricating this grand ſyſtem of impoſition againſt Mary, he would plume himſelf

* P. 14, 15, and 16, Ruddiman's Buchanan.

at once on forming it, and on giving it during the formation ſuch private marks, ſuch ſecret ſignatures, by little errors in time, and by petty variations from fact; as would eſcape the notice of every other eye, and yet ſhould enable him, whenever he pleaſed, to expoſe the whole villainy to the world compleatly.

§ IV.

§ IV.

Here let us examine an argument, which has been ſtrongly urged in favour of a French original to the letters. Mr. Hume, I think, was the firſt who inſiſted upon the Galliciſms in the Scotch copy, and alledged them as a proof of its being a tranſlation from the French *. Mr. Tytler replied to him. And the Miſcellaneous Remarker has rejoined to Mr. Tytler. It is pleaſing enough to a philoſophical ſurveyor of the human mind, to ſee it contending with ſuch weak weapons on either ſide, when hiſtory would have furniſhed it with weapons of force and power. Such have been actually produced, I truſt, in the courſe of the preſent work. Nor can any Galliciſms in the Scotch have the weight of a feather at preſent, againſt the full meaſure of hiſtorical evidence before. Yet it may be uſeful to notice the argument, in order to anſwer it as an objection; as one that is really light in itſelf, but has been made reſpectable by the conteſt about it.

* v. 147.

The objection, as advanced by Mr. Hume, consisted of various IDIOMS, and of one WORD, that were Gallic. To the idioms we need not say much. They are such unsubstantial evidences, that there is hardly any grasping of them. They run thus: "make fault, faire des fautes;" "make "it seem that I believe, faire semblant de le croire," which is literally, to make a semblance of believing it, and therefore different from the Scotch; "make brek, faire breche;" "have you not desire "to laugh, n' avez vous pas envie de rire," which is plainly no idiom, and has no similarity at all; "the place will hald unto the death, la place tien-"dray jusqu'a la mort," where the point of similarity lies only in *the* and *la*, the former of which was then used in this connection, though it seldom is now, and the latter is sometimes not used at present; "he may not come forth of the house this "long time, il ne peut pas sortir du logis de long "temps," which is no idiom, and has no more similarity than what a translation necessarily gives; "to make me advertisement, faire m'avertir," which is different from the Scotch, and signifies only, to *make advertise me*; "put order to it, mettre "ordre a cela," which is different again, and as different as to *put* and to *send*; "discharge your "heart, decharger votre cœur," and "mak gud "watch, faites bon gard," in both which the similarity is in one word, and the dissimilarity in two and three. And at the close we may ask, If such arguments as these can prove any thing, what will be too difficult to be proved? Yet the Miscellaneous

neous Remarker * has even heightened the folly, by adducing theſe additional Galliciſms out of one of the letters, though theſe are as much Anglicisms as almoſt any modes of ſpeech in our language; "the diſdane that I can not be in outward effect "yours," "my only wealth," "ſall not part furth "of my boſom," "to the quhilk I pretend," and "for evil nor gude ſall nevir mak me go from it." And I cannot but obſerve upon both, that, if we were to liſten to ſuch empirics in language as theſe, we ſhould be like the honeſt Alderman with his *proſe*, and ſtare to find we had been talking FRENCH all our lives.

The languages of France and England were originally the ſame. They were ſo in the days of our Britiſh anceſtors. They were ſo ſtill, in the time of our Saxon fathers. And *Frenchmen were brought hither by Auguſtine and his fellow-miſſionaries, to be their interpreters to the Engliſh.* The fact is little known. But it ought to be called out into general notice. It is recorded by Bede himſelf †: "acceperunt autem, præcipiente beato Papâ "Gregorio, DE GENTE FRANCORUM INTERPRETES." This being the caſe, the two languages may well retain a variety of ſimilar idioms to the preſent day. They muſt ſtill be *ſubſtantially* the ſame. They apparently are ſo. The ſame words, the ſame combinations of words, are perpetually recurring in both. And we may as well argue in general from any coincidences of this nature, *that the French are*

* P. 33. † Hiſt. i. 25.

derived from the Engliſh, as that the Engliſh are borrowed from the French. Yet, from the natural variations of time in two ſeparate kingdoms, there are many idioms and words peculiar to each at preſent. Some of the French were common once to our own language, though they are retained only in the other now; and ſome are ſtill common. Thus, "to *diſcharge* your heart" was uſed at the period of the letters, and is ſtill uſed among us, as it is among the French; though it is almoſt ſuperſeded in familiar life among us, by the expreſſion "to *open* your heart." Thus alſo, "to *make* good "watch," was uſed then for "to *keep* good watch;" though the French ſtill adhere to their old expreſſion, "*faire* de bon gard." The French and we alſo once ſaid, "*faire* un faut," or "to *make* a "fault," as the Scotch letters ſay; but we now ſay, "to *do* a fault," while the French preſerve their ancient term. And "to make a breach" is as good Engliſh, as "pour faire breche" is French.

Having thus diſpatched the idioms, I turn to the words. Mr. Hume mentions only one; "this "is my firſt JOURNEY, c'eſt ma premiere JOUR-"NE'E." He thought *journey* in this ſenſe to be purely French. Though a Scotchman; though ſo thoroughly a Scotchman, that even to the laſt he could not clear his tongue, from his native provinciality of pronunciation; yet he had never heard the word, it ſeems, among his cotemporaries of the town or country about him. In itſelf, and in its derivatives, it forms a very important ſet of words in the Engliſh language. In all the Engliſh extremities

extremities of the iſland, it ſignifies juſt as it does in the letters, a day's work. And, as Mr. Tytler has juſtly obſerved *, *journey-man* and *journey-work* are common to all parts of it.

This ſingle inſtance furniſhes us with a ſtriking proof, of the haſty ſuperficialneſs and the wanton deciſiveneſs, with which Mr. Hume pretended to diſprove the originality of the Scotch letters. In the violence of his aſſault upon it, he forgot his native tongue. His zeal operated with all the force of a fever upon his brain. He did, as Rouſſeau ſaid he did afterwards in his hearing. *He talked nothing but French in his ſleep.* The whole Engliſh language was loſt to him, during the continuance of the paroxyſm. And the loudeſt converſation of the ſtreet or the farm, could not awaken him from his delirium.

But the Engliſh language, *at the period of the letters*, appears to have been particularly furniſhed with words, that either in their nature or in their orthography were purely French. Indeed, the foppery of adopting ſuch terms ſeems to have been fully as prevalent among the grave ſtateſmen then, as it is among our writing and converſing coxcombs at preſent. And ſome of theſe actually make their appearance in the letters.

Secretary Cecil, ſays Mr. Tytler †, mentions a thing "to be BRUITED." Throgmorton alſo, ſays Miſcellaneous Remarker ‡, uſes BRUIT for rumour.

* P. 87. † P. 86. ‡ P. 18.

And half a hundred writers uſed theſe words at the time, and have uſed them ſince. But this argument, adds the Remarker, "ſeems not to the "purpoſe, for Cecil was an Engliſhman, and *bruited* "is not a French word." Are not the Scotch and the Engliſh languages, then, the ſame? Are not the Scotch letters, particularly, written in Engliſh? They certainly are. And, though *bruited* be not uſed by the French, the radical *bruit* is, which is ſufficient. We took this word from the French, and then founded our own *bruited* upon it.

Sir James Melvill, ſays Mr. Tytler *, uſes the word FINEST for "the moſt ſubtile, cunning, or "penetrating genius, from the French words *fin* and "*finet*, a cunning or ſubtile man; a word not "known or uſed, either in writing or in common "ſpeech, at this day." This is ſurely a good inſtance of the humour then current among writers, of adopting French words into the language; and ſo helps to account for the appearance of ſuch words, in the Scotch letters. Yet the Remarker does not like it. "Neither is it of moment," he ſays †, "that "Melvill, who had paſſed much of his time in "France, uſed *fineſt*;—thus forming, by analogy, "a ſuperlative from the French *fin*." What makes Mr. Tytler's obſervation of no moment in the opinion of his critic is, that Melvill "had paſſed "much of his time in France." But had not Mary, who muſt have written the letters, if they

* P. 86. † P. 18.

are

are genuine, and in whoſe name they muſt have been written, if they are forgeries? Yet the Remarker adds: "as to what the author ſays of *fin* "and *finet*—having the ſame ſenſe, he might as "well have ſaid, that a *ſmatterer* in the French "language and an *adept* are ſynonimous." How trifling an advantage will kindle the natural pride of our ſpirits, into an inſtant blaze! "I once "knew," ſaid that good and ingenious man, the late Mr. Hooke the hiſtorian, "a fellow vain of "tying a ſtring adroitly to a rat's tail." But *there* was ſome ground for the vanity. The fellow was adroit. And the Remarker is not ſo. *Fin* ſignifies cunning or ſubtle, and *finet* ſignifies ſubtle or cunning.

In the proteſtation drawn up for the earls of Huntly and Argyle, as Mr. Tytler remarks *, "Lethington ſays, "'Tak you na care, we ſal find "'an *moyen* to mak her quit of him.'" But this, replies the Remarker †, "is merely the word *mean* "ſpelt in a different way." It is ſpelt however in the *French* way. It therefore ſhews the tendency of the times to the *French* language, in a very ſtrong manner. Even when the word was Engliſh as well as French, even when it was uſed in an Engliſh as well as a French meaning, the tongue or the pen imperceptibly formed it in the French faſhion. And, ſo formed, the word occurs continually in the Scotch papers of thoſe times; in the intimations given by the nobles of Mary's party to

* P. 86. † P. 20.

her

her commiſſioners*; in Mary's regiſter of the proceedings at Hampton Court, on Feb. 2d, 1568†; in Murray's letter to Cecil, Jan. 31, 1569‡; in a letter of Mary's to her friends in Scotland ‖; in a letter of Murray's to Mary herſelf §; and in biſhop Leſley's Negotiations ¶.

So alſo the Engliſh commiſſioners at York, uſe an Engliſh word formed exactly in the ſame mold of France; and ſpeak of DEPECHING, inſtead of diſpatching, an anſwer to a letter ⸸. Murray does the ſame, in a letter from England to the Lord of Craigmillar; dating it thus, "at Kingſtoun, the "xi of Januar, 1568;" and then adding this poſterior note to it, "*depeſchit* the xiii day**. Mary does the ſame too, in her account of Rizzio's murder to her embaſſador in France; writing to him in theſe words, "we received your *depeſche*, ſent by "captain Mure††." And her and Elizabeth's commiſſioners are ſaid to be waiting, till the former ſhould hear "from the Quene their miſtreſs, by "their next *depeche* ‡‡."

Yet it was not merely in Frenchifying the form or the meaning of Engliſh words, that this pedantry of politeneſs ſhewed itſelf in that age. It took a bolder ſtep. It introduced words that are ſuppoſed to be purely French, and in what is believed to be

* Goodall, ii. 355. † ii. 335. ‡ ii. 332. ‖ ii. 325—326. § Anderſon, iv. part i. 117. ¶ P. 76. Anderſon, iii. ⸸ Goodall, ii. 127. ** ii. 306. †† Keith, 330. ‡‡ Goodall, ii. 156.

a purely French meaning. "Queen Mary, in anſwer "to Murray's and Morton's accuſation againſt her, "ſays they have MESCHANTLIE ſclanderit her." "Lethington, confeſſedly the beſt Scotch writer of "that time," and, as I muſt beg leave to add, the very fabricator of the letters, "in his own letter to "Cecil—uſeth the word APPUY for ſupport*." Randolph alſo, the Engliſh embaſſador in Scotland, ſpeaks of the INGROSSMENT or pregnancy of the Dutcheſs of Savoy†. Quintin Kennedy too, Abbot of Croſraguel, in a treatiſe which he publiſhed 1558, ſays thus of the clergy; "this wer the way "to cum in att the dure,—quhare now,—as it wer "thevis or BIGANTIS, we creip in at wyndois or "bak-durris‡." Nor is the word *brigants*, in its derivatives at leaſt, peculiar to the preſent writer. It was even uſed in the judicial forms of the nation, at this period. In 1581 a Scotch peer being tried for the murder of Darnly, he is charged in his indictment to have murdered him, "be way of "hameſukin, BRIGANCIE, and foirthowght fel-"lonie§." And what intimates even ſome of theſe very words to have been originally in the Scotch language, though they are only preſerved in the French at preſent; the ſame Abbot, in a letter of April the 7th, 1559, ſays to the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, "zit I may write un MOT to your lordſhip:" thus uſing a word, that is well known to be French; uſing it too, with a numerical term that has particu-

* Tytler, 86. † Keith, 209. ‡ Keith, App. 203.
§ Arnot's Crim. Trials, 390.

larly

larly a French appearance; and yet using a word, that is exceedingly familiar to *all* the inhabitants of *Lancashire* at this day *.

To any of these instances, either of casual French or of French affectation, among the Scotch or the English of those days, the Remarker cannot object. He does not. Yet he wants some "better "evidence," to "account for the numerous Gal- "licisms that occur in the Scottish copy." Those instances are not very numerous. We have just seen a long string of his own, not *one of which* was a Gallicism. And Mr. Hume's too have been all accounted for. The Remarker, however, now adds five, taken out of the first letter. But two of them have been noticed in my remarks upon that letter before, and shewn to be the creation of his own errors †. A third is only one of Mr. Hume's repeated, "mak fault, faire faute." Of the other two, one is "maid my *estat*," which is plainly French in its application, though our English word *state*, as implying circumstances of statelineſs, approaches very near to it; and comes under the same class with *depeche*, *moyen*, *fineſt*, and *bruit*, before. The other is this, "he belevit to die for "gladneſs;" which *may* be a French mode of expreſſion, like "mak fault" before, but is ap-

* Keith, App. 194. The Lancashire word is pronounced with that *y* final, which is still retained in so many words among the Cornish; and is formed into MOTT-Y. "Why do you "put in your *mott-y*?" is a very common question to any person interposing a word in conversation.

† Lett. i. § xiv. and xvii.

parently

parently ſo nearly a Scotch one too, as not to be worth our notice. And thoſe purely French words, and that purely French meaning of an Engliſh word, which are actually uſed in the letters, and two of them uſed repeatedly, are totally overlooked by all parties. Thus, ſays the author, "I held "PURPOIS to na body*," "the *purpois* of Schir "James Hamilton †," and "the *purpois* that he "and I had togidder ‡." So Murray, in his anſwer to the proteſtation from Argyle and Huntly, ſpeaks of "ony *purpoſis* haldin at Craigmillar in "my audience;" and mentions "the effect of "the haill *purpoſis*, ſpokin in my audience at the "ſamin tyme §." And ſo Randolph ſays of Mary, that after ſhe had ſpoken to him for ſome time, "after theſe *purpoſes*," he offered to addreſs her as ſhe was leaving the council-room; and that then, "in long *purpoſe* of this matter, and other like, "ſhe ſaith," &c ‖. The writer of the letters, alſo, ſpeaks of his "MALHEUR ¶." "I am FASCHIT," he adds, "that it ſtoppis me to write newis of my-"ſelf ⸸;" and "I am now paſſand to my *faſcheous* "purpois **." "I am thinkand," he ſays in a third place, "upon nathing bot *faſcherie* ††." And, as he *once* ſaid in his ſecond letter, "I am ſoe "*faſchit* with it ‡‡." Juſt ſo Mary, in her inſtructions to her embaſſador ſent into England upon her

* L. i. § i. † L. i. § xxi. ‡ Ibid. § Goodall, ii. 321.
‖ Keith, 195. ¶ L. iii. § ii. ⸸ L. i. § x.
** L. i. § xxiv. †† L. i. § xxxii. ‡‡ Appendix, N° vii.

marriage

marriage to Bothwell, characterizes her ſubjects very juſtly, for "a peopill als factious amangis "yameſelfis, and als *faſſious* for the governour, as "any other nation in Europe *." Nor was this French word un-familiar to the Engliſh *ſouth* of the Tweed. The Duke of Norfolk, writing to Cecil at the time of the York conference, ſays, that "their action ys like to *fawche* them †." And, as this Engliſh uſe of the word ſhews how it came to be introduced among the Scotch; ſo the appearance of it among both nations, proves the common propenſity of both at this period, to adopt the terms of the French, when their own were as elegant and as forcible as they. We ſee and feel too much of this ridiculous faſhion at preſent, not to catch the reflection of it in the manners of Mary's age. We are fully convinced by our own experience, that we have no need to recur to the wild hypotheſis of a tranſlation from a French original, in order to account for the exiſtence of French words, either in Norfolk's or in Lethington's letters. And we actually ſee an author quoted above, Quintin Kennedy, Abbot of Croſraguel, in his popular addreſs to the Scotch againſt the Reformation in 1558, calling upon the Romiſh clergy to do "their dett and DEVORE to the ſimpyll "peple committit to their cure;" and exclaiming againſt the princes ſuffering ſpiritual preferments to be extorted from them, by ſolicitations for un-

* Anderſon, i. 103. † Goodall, ii. 133.

worthy

worthy perſons, as "the MALHEURIUS prince ſall "warry [curſe] the tyme, that evir he wes ſua "MISCHEANTLIE ſubject to the unreſſonable deſyre "of his ſubjectis *."

The *Scotch* indeed appear to have been peculiarly free, in naturalizing French words among them, and allowing them all the privileges of natives. This may be accounted for hiſtorically, "from the long and continued intercourſe and "connection between the Scotch and French na-"tions †." They had a Queen of France for their Queen, in Mary. They had had a French lady for their Queen and their Regent, in her mother. And their nobles were continually moving to and from theſe allied kingdoms. Hence we have ſo many more inſtances before, of faſhionable impertinence in the uſe of French among the Scotch, than among the Engliſh. And hence we have ſome remains of French among the vulgar Scots of the preſent day, that are utterly unknown to England.

"Every Scotchman," ſays Mr. Tytler, "knows "well what the vulgar mean by giving a BONNE-"ALLE'E, or parting-cup ‡." This is certainly a very ſingular proof, of the prevalence of French in

* Keith, App. 203. So Bothwell is ſaid in the famous bond o have "offerit to do his *devoire* be the law of armes," Anderſon, i. 109. So Mary in a charter ſpeaks of "fies and "*devories*," fees and duties, "pertening to the keiping of the "ſaid caſtell," Ibid, 118. So likewiſe, in Sir Ralph Sadler's Letters, we have "*demeure*" for reſidence, in 214, 253, and 61; "*retour*" for return, in 326; and "*manjouring*" for half-inclination, in 338.

† Tytler, 85. ‡ Ibid, 109, edit. 3d.

Scotland.

Scotland. It is curious to the antiquary of manners. It is curious to the critic in language. Yet the Remarker objects to it. He objects, but he cannot answer. "*Bonne-allée*," he says *, "if it "be a French phrase at all, means a garden-walk, "convenient and well-kept." He chose not to see. I *must* pay *this* compliment to his *understanding*. *Bonne-allée* could never have signified a fine garden-walk, if it had not previously signified something else. The word properly and primarily signifies a *good going*. It thence branched out into two meanings, *a good journey*, or *a good road to journey on*. The latter of these easily resolved itself into a *good walk*, in a garden or any where else. And the hospitable spirit of the Scotch retained the expression, for what used to be called in England a *stirrup-cup*; when the French had lost the object and the name together.

The Scotch also retain, as appears from Mr. Tytler †, another expression of the same import, and equally French, for the same object. Nothing but a continued spirit of hospitality could have continued such terms, even amongst the lowest orders of the state. They are, therefore, as much monuments of their hospitality, as of their intercourse with France. But the latter expression is "giving one's FOY." This is plainly French in its substantial word; and is equivalent, in its *general* acceptation, to our English "pledging" of a friend in drinking. But the word *foy* has a

* P. 19. † P. 85, edit. 1st.

peculiar

peculiar meaning in Scotland, and ſignifies that "pledging" which a friend gives a friend in a parting-cup. And what can the Remarker ſay to this? He *ſays* nothing, though he *ſpeaks* much. "Does *foy*," he aſks, "mean a parting-cup in "French, or *donner ſa foy* to give a parting-cup?" Nobody pretended that it did. Mr. Tytler only argued, that *foy* was a French word, and yet that it was uſed in the Scotch language to this day; in a particular ſignification indeed, but ſtill uſed. It may be loſt in the preſent French. The ſignification may have periſhed with the thing. But the word is plainly French. And the thing and the ſignification are plainly preſerved in the Scotch. No! ſays the Remarker. "The Dutch phraſe, *de foy* "*geven*, means according to Skinner, who writes an "Engliſh Etymological Dictionary, *cænam profec-* "*titiam dare*, i. e. *fidem amicitiæ, etiam per abſentiam* "*duraturæ*, dare." Yet this is plainly the ſame with the Scotch *foy*. This alſo explains the meaning of it more fully, and makes it to be *fidem amicitiæ etiam per abſentiam duraturæ*. This alſo explains our Engliſh "pledging," to mean *originally* a cup given as a *pledge* of friendſhip, *etiam per abſentiam duraturæ*. And all ſerves to ſhew the cuſtom, which in Holland is, and perhaps in France was, a parting-ſupper; but which in England and in Scotland, from the ſuperior love of drinking here, was a parting-cup; to have been retained in France, in Holland, and in Scotland, under the one appellation of a *foy*, and in England under that of a *pledge*:

a *pledge:* and, in all, to have been considered as a *fides* or *pledge* of friendship, that was to continue even during the absence of the parties.

But I will give one more instance of these notable relicks of French, in the present body of colloquial Scotch. "A JARDELOU, or *gare de l'eau*," says Mr. Tytler, "I believe, is pretty well under-"stood in Edinburgh, even at this very day *." This is a word, adds the Remarker †, "of which "Scotsmen, unless superior to national reproaches, "are not wont to treat. It means foul water or "other noisome things thrown from a window. "The vulgar amongst us have turned a French "phrase, *gare l'eau*, into a single word, and have "perverted both its sound and its signification." The word appears to be, as Mr. Tytler states it, *gare de l'eau*, beware of the water. Water, it seems, was the only thing at *first*, that was permitted to be discharged from the windows into the streets at night. Other things were permitted afterwards. Yet still the monitory notice from the windows was, *gare de l'eau*, and that from the streets, *hold your hand*. And this shews us, very strikingly, the predominance of the French language among the Scots; when one half of these *cries of Edinborough* was in French. But the Remarker is out of humour with it. Not able to disprove the fact or the inference, he takes pet at both. "This example "is produced," he says, "for proving, that in the

* P. 110, edit. 3d. † P. 19—20.

"days of Queen Mary the Scottiſh language "abounded in French words, and even in Galli-"ciſms." Mr. Tytler had ſaid with more propriety, that it "abounded with Galliciſms, and even "with French words;" though the Remarker preſumes *formally* to correct the arrangement of his language. An idiom is a much weaker proof than a word. But Mr. Tytler does not produce *this* example *alone*, to prove his point. He produces it in concurrence with others. Each proves a ſingle word of French to have been incorporated into the Scotch. Some prove more. *Foy* proves one. *Bonne-allée* proves two. *Gare de l'eau* proves four, all formed into one; as RENDEZVOUS amongſt ourſelves is two French words compacted together, and uſed, like *jardelou*, for a ſubſtantive. All demonſtrate a variety of French words, to have once been engrafted on the ſtock of the Scotch; ſince the remains of them are ſo ſtriking, even at this day. And the writings of Queen Mary's days reflect a light back upon theſe again, ſhew the fact which theſe image out to us, and ſo unite with them to exhibit it in its full proportions.

All ſerves to prove in the cleareſt manner, that if the French idioms or the French words in the Scotch copy of the letters, had been ten times more than they are, they might eaſily be accounted for, from the predominating affection of the times for French; that this ſpirit reigned in England, but carried a much greater ſway in Scotland; and that the beſt writings of Scotland then, and the language

of the vulgar now, concur together in a very extraordinary manner, to prove the adoption of French words, and even of French combinations of words, for ſome of the commoneſt ideas, and ſome of the pettieſt operations, in life.

§ V.

§ V.

LETTER THE SEVENTH (1).

I.—" My lord, ſen my letter writtin, zour bro-
" ther-in-law yat was (2), come to me verray ſad,
" and hes aſkit me my counſel, quhat he ſuld do
" efter to morne (3), becaus their be mony folkis
" heir, and amang utheris the Erle of Sudderland,
" quha wald rather die, conſiddering the gude they
" have ſa laitlie reſſavit of me (4), than ſuffer me
" to be caryit away, thay conducting me (5); and
" that he feirit their ſuld ſum troubil happin of"

I.—" Monſieur, depuis ma lettre eſcrite, voſtre
" beau-frere qui fuſt (2), eſt venu a moy fort triſte,
" et m'a demandé mon conſeil de ce qu'il feroit apres
" demain (3), pour ce qu'il y a beaucoup de gens
" icy, et entre autres le Conte de Southerland, qui
" aymeroient mieux mourir, veu le bien que je
" leurs a fait depuis n'a gueres (4), que de ſouffrir
" que je fuſſe emmenée, eux me conduiſans (5);
" et d'autre part qu'il craint"

 (1) When

(1) When this letter pretends to be written, will appear from ſome circumſtances in it hereafter.

(2) I have already, in the preceding parts of the work, ſhewn what a ſtriking mark of forgery this is.

But let me make another remark upon it. The *cauſe* of this ſtrange anacroniſm, was the *poſterior* formation of this and the next letter. And, what is very remarkable, the ſame cauſe produced the ſame effect in the preceding ſeries of letters. In thoſe from Glaſgow, as well as in theſe from Stirling, *two* were *additional* letters; the third and the fourth, as well as the ſeventh and eighth, of the whole. This is peculiarly manifeſt concerning the third and ſeventh. The error about the divorce here, and the blunder about the lodgings there, ſhew it very evidently. And both were letters added to the original number, added when the original ideas were conſiderably effaced by time, and added when there was no attention paid to an accurate renovation of them. The third particularly appears to have been added, *before* the journal had been preſented at London, *before* the letters had been exhibited at York, but *after* the letters had been produced to the parliament of Scotland. It was added undoubtedly, on Elizabeth urging the rebels to come to her conference in England, and on their preparing to attend her there. Then reſolving to augment the number, in a fond conceit of enlarging the power, of their fictitious proofs againſt

againſt Mary; they extended the original two from Glaſgow into three, as they afterwards extended theſe, and the original two from Stirling, equally and reſpectively into four. Lethington thus ſitting down to continue what he had compoſed at firſt, ſitting down to do it at the diſtance of eight and twelve months from the firſt compoſure, acting under the immediate ſpur of the moment at both periods, and yet too confident in his practices to ſuſpect his inaccuracy in the work; he naturally found himſelf confuſed in his chronological ideas for it. He therefore began to write his third letter, as from Kirk-a-field; when he finally meant it all for Glaſgow. He firſt noticed the King's apartments, as "thair-up" or "là-haut;" but afterwards referred to them, as "the place here beſyde," or "de lieu qui eſt prochain d'icy *." And this is exactly in the ſame ſtrain of ſelf-deception, from which he afterwards ſpoke at the head of his ſeventh letter, concerning Bothwell's divorce from his wife as already paſſed; when the letter itſelf is apparently calculated for a period, that was antecedent to the divorce by ſeveral days.

(3) "Efter to morne," after to-morrow. This letter therefore pretends to be written on Tueſday April 22d, as the ſeizure was on Thurſday April 24th †. The fifth letter therefore, the firſt of the four from Stirling, demonſtrably claims to be

* § i. and ii. † Appendix, N° x.

written on Monday night; as I have already ſtated it to be. And the ſixth, the ſecond of the four, muſt be attributed to Tueſday morning. Having thus ſettled the claimed chronology of the letters deciſively, let us now compare the train of incidents in them with their own ſtandard of time. Huntly, according to them, has come from Edinborough ſince Mary, ſince Monday morning, and, as appears from Bothwell's ſending him to conſult with Mary, ſome time ſince both. Yet he arrives at Stirling time enough, for Mary to write an account of his converſation in a letter that night. Indeed he well might, as many days had paſſed in that one. For ſhe complains in that very letter, of Bothwell having promiſed to write to her "every "day," and of his having not done it; of his having changed his mind ſince her abſence; and of his abſence having power over him, becauſe he has two ſtrings to his bow, his own wife and Mary. And this alone will ſerve to ſhew, how contrary the letters are even to their own aſſumed chronology, as well as to that of the rebel journal.

(4) The favour which they had ſo lately received of Mary, was this. On April 19th the forfeiture, which had lain for ſome time upon the Earl of Huntly's eſtate, was taken off by the Queen in parliament. "Aprill 19, quhilk wes Setterday, the "decreyt of reduction wes gevin for the Erle of "Huntly, and all his friendis*." And one of

* Goodall, ii. 249.

theſe

theſe was the Earl of Sutherland *; who had been attainted, and was now reſtored, with him.

(5) This ſhews clearly, that Huntly and his friends, even the Earl of Sutherland and others, who had had their forfeitures repealed the Saturday before, had "conducted" Mary from Edinborough to Stirling on Monday April 21ſt, according to the preſent letter, and were to conduct her back again "efter to morne." Huntly and Sutherland were both in Edinborough at the repeal, and both at Bothwell's ſupper afterwards. Sutherland alſo ſubſcribed the bond, as well as Huntly †. And, according to this plain paſſage, he had come with Huntly on Monday. This therefore proves a groſs contradiction in the letters. Huntly, who came with the Queen, is repreſented as coming ſome time, even ſome days, after her; as coming commiſſioned from Bothwell, to ſettle with her the circumſtances; as diſtruſted before by Mary, as diſtruſted by her then, as treated with contempt by her, and as returning to Edinborough. This is ſaid, we ſee, directly in the teeth of the preſent paſſage. And the violent oppoſition is a full evidence of a forgery.

But let us dwell upon another circumſtance here. Huntly undoubtedly attended the Queen in this journey. But did Sutherland alſo? I believe not. We have three accounts of the perſons then in her train, all from cotemporary writers, and one of them from a perſon actually of the number. And in

* Keith, 380. † Anderſon, i. 112; and Keith, 383.

none

none of these is the Earl of Sutherland mentioned. She was, say Crawford's Memoirs, "accompanied "with the noble Earl of Huntly and secretary "Maitland of Lethington *." Bothwell, says the rebel journal, seized Mary, "tuik Huntley and "the secretarie prisoneris, and led them all to "Dumbar †." Bothwell's men, says Melvill, "took the Earl of Huntly, the secretary Liding-"ton, and *me*, and carried us captives to Dumbar; "all the rest were permitted to go free ‡." Melvill therefore was one of the persons seized. Lethington was another. And Huntly was another. The Earl of Sutherland was not with them. Had he been, his rank must necessarily have caused him to be mentioned. Crawford's Memoirs and the journal, both which notice Lethington, would certainly have noticed Sutherland. Melvill, who even specifies himself, could not have refrained from specifying Sutherland too. And, had there been one gentleman of consequence in the Queen's train more than these, had Sutherland particularly been that gentleman, Bothwell must have carried him equally with them to Dunbar. Here then we have another proof of the forgery. The letter was written long after the incident on which it rests, and when the original knowledge of persons and circumstances was grown confused in the memory. Huntly was made to be no longer the brother-in-law of Bothwell, though he was so in reality for se-

* Keith, 383. † Goodall, ii. 250. ‡ Melvill, p. 80.

veral

veral days afterward. And Sutherland was ſuppoſed to be there, becauſe Huntly was; and therefore was put down in the room of Melvill.

" it: of the uther ſyde, that it ſuld be ſaid that he " wer unthankfull to have betrayit me (1). I tald " him, that he ſuld have reſolvit with zow upon all " that, and that he ſuld avoyde, gif he culd, thay " that wer maiſt miſtraiſtit (2).

II.—" He hes reſolvit to wryte thairof to zow be " my opiniqun (3); for (4) he hes abaſchit me to " ſé him ſa unreſolvit at the neid. I aſſure myſelf " he will play the part of an honeſt man: bot I " have thocht gude to advertiſe yow (5) of the feir " he hes, yat he ſuld be chargeit and accuſit of treſ- " ſoun, to ye end yat,"

" que s'il en ſurvenoit quelque trouble, on ne " l'eſtimaſt ingrat, comme s'il m'avoit trahié (1). " Je luy dy, qu'il devoit eſtre reſolu de cela avec " vous, et mettre hors de ſa maiſon ceux deſquels " on ſe meſfioit le plus (2).

II.—" Suivant ce mien advis, il s'eſt reſolu de " vous en eſcrire (3); et (4) me ſuis eſtonnée de " le voir ſi peu reſolu en temps de neceſſité. Je " m'aſſeure bien qu'il fera tour d'honneſte homme: " mais je vous ay bien voulu advertir (5) de la " crainte

" crainte qu'il a, d'eſtre chargé et accuſé de tra-
" hiſon,"

(1) " And that he feirit thair ſuld ſum troubil " happin of it: of the uther ſyde, that it ſuld be " ſaid that he wer unthankfull to have betrayit me," Scotch. " It is not in the power of man," ſays the Remarker *, " to diſcover the tendency of theſe " words, unleſs he conſult the French." The words are pretty plain, I think. But let us conſult the French: " *et d'autre part* qu'il craint, que s'il en " ſurvenoit quelque trouble, on ne l'eſtimaſt ingrat, " comme s'il m'avoit trahié." And we now ſee, that the French is ſo far from explaining the Scotch, as, like ſome of the Remarker's own explanations, it perverts the ſenſe of it. The Scotch ſays, that Sutherland and others would rather die, than ſuffer Mary, while under their guard, to be carried off by Bothwell; that Huntly was therefore apprehenſive there would be a *conflict* about it, for ſuch is the old meaning of *trouble* †; and that *on the other hand*, if no conflict took place, he ſhould be charged with ingratitude, as having *betrayed* her to Bothwell. But the French ſays, that Sutherland and others would act as above; and that *on the other hand* Huntly was afraid, *if any conflict ſhould take place*, he ſhould be charged with *ingratitude*. And who does not ſee, that there is a regular conſecution of ſentiments in the one, and that there is a compleat confuſion of them in the other?

* P. 33. † See Robertſon, ii. 373, " *trouble* among " his own countrymen."

All

All this however, both in the Scotch and in the French, ſhews Huntly to be the commander of the Queen's eſcort upon this occaſion, and the others to be only his friends and adherents.

(2) This means, that he ſhould keep Sutherland and others, who would rather die than ſuffer Bothwell to carry her off, from attending as guards upon Mary. But what does the French make of it? "Mettre hors de ſa maiſon." So "all that" is rendered only "cela," and "gif he culd" is wholly left out.

(3) Huntly is writing by Mary's advice, late on Tueſday, to Bothwell at Edinborough. No hint is given, that the anſwer will find either him or her at any place but Stirling. And there is no urgency, for Bothwell to return the anſwer with expedition. The ſtrain of the letter implies, that there was time enough for him to write, for Bothwell to anſwer, and for the anſwer to find him at Stirling. Yet Mary ſet out the very next day, Wedneſday, for Linlithgow; and the day afterwards, Thurſday, was carried off by Bothwell. What however was Huntly to aſk, and Bothwell to anſwer? He was afraid, that the gratitude and bravery of his own followers would produce a battle, at the attempted ſeizure. What could Bothwell ſay to this fear? He was apprehenſive, if no battle enſued, that he ſhould be conſidered as having ungratefully betrayed her. What could Bothwell reply to this apprehenſion? He certainly could not leſſen either. And neither Huntly nor Mary could ſuppoſe, that he could. All this application

plication and re-application from Bothwell to Mary, from Mary to Bothwell, and from Huntly to both, ſo far as concerns Huntly's ſhare in the buſineſs, is all impertinence and abſurdity.

(4) "For," Scotch, very properly; "et," French, very improperly.

(5) Not only Huntly, but Mary alſo, is writing to Bothwell very calmly, as if time was not preſſing, and as if Bothwell's anſwer to *her* would equally find her at Stirling; without any urgency for diſpatch.

"without miſtraiſting him, ze may be the mair cir-
"cumſpect, and that ze may have the mair power
"(1). For we had ziſterday mair then iii. c. hors of
"his and of Levingſtoun's(2). For the honour of
"God (3), be accompanyit rather with mair then
"les (4); for that is the principal of my cair.

III.—"I go to wryte my diſpatche (5), and
"pray God to ſend us ane happy enterview ſchortly.
"I wryte in haiſt, to ye end ye may be advyſit in
"tyme (6)."

"a ce que, ſans vous meffier de luy, vous y regar-
"diez de plus pres, et que vous vous rendiez d'au-
"tant plus fort (1). Car nous avions hier plus de
"trois cens chevaux des ſiens et de Leviſton (2).

"Pour

" Pour l'amour de Dieu (3), ſoyez pluſtoſt accom-
" pagné de trop, que de trop peu (4): car c'eſt le
" principal de mon ſoucy.

III.—" Je m'en vay achever ma depeſche (5),
" et prie Dieu, que nous nous puiſſions entrevoir
" bientoſt en joye. Je vous eſcry en diligence,
" afin que ſoyez adverty a temps (6)."

(1) Mary then thought, that there was ſo much time yet to the execution of the plan, as would allow Bothwell, not merely to anſwer Huntly in time and at Stirling, but even to raiſe a larger number of forces. Yet the bearer of this letter could not reach Edinborough, before Wedneſday noon. And the plan was executed on Thurſday.

(2) I have ſhewn already the only gentlemen of the Queen's train, to be Huntly, Lethington, and Melvill. She muſt have travelled to and from Stirling, therefore, with only a ſlight number of attendants. She *could* not have had 300 horſe of Huntly's and Livingſton's with her. She particularly had not, as I have already ſhewn, the Earl of Sutherland in her retinue. And ſhe explicitly tells us herſelf, and Crawford's Memoirs expreſsly confirm her report, that ſhe travelled not with any parade of retainers about her. " Bothwell," ſhe ſays in a letter of inſtructions to her embaſſador in France ſoon afterwards, " finding opor-
" tunitie, *be reſſoun* we wer paſt SECREITLIE to-
" wartis Stirling, to viſite ye prince oure deireſt
" ſone;

" ſone; in our returning he awayted us be the way, " accompaneit with a greit force, and led us, with " all diligence, to Dunbar *." " She was com- " ing," ſay the confirming Memoirs, " but " SLIGHTLY guarded, from Stirling to Edin- " burgh †." Here then is another fact that detects the forgery. And the 300 horſe are like Bayes's inviſible army at Knightſbridge.

There is alſo another proof of forgery in this paſſage. I have already ſhewn the only attendants of conſequence in the preſent expedition, to have been Huntly, Lethington, and Melvill. Livingſton therefore was no more there, than Sutherland. He was only ſuppoſed to be there, at a time when memory was confounded by the interval ſince the event, becauſe Mary called probably at his houſe on her way to Stirling. And theſe letters plainly appear ſpurious again! Nor can it be ſurmiſed, in removal of this evidence of forgery, that Livingſton probably was *not* with Mary *at the ſeizure*, and yet was with her at Stirling; that he attended her, only from his houſe to Stirling; and that he re-attended her, only from Stirling to his houſe again. This paſſage actually precludes the ſurmiſe. It intimates him to have accompanied her to the very ſeizure; becauſe it enumerates his men and Huntly's together, and adviſes Bothwell to bring " rather *mair* then les" againſt them. And the appearance of Livingſton here, concurs with the appearance of Sutherland before, to form a *double* demonſtration of the forgery.

* Anderſon, i. 95. † P. 19.

But

But all ſhews the Queen deciſively to have come to Stirling, according to the preſent letter, eſcorted by Huntly and his retainers. It therefore proves the falſity of the fifth letter, which repreſents Huntly to have come to Stirling after her, and to have brought her a meſſage from Bothwell. And the mention of "ziſterday," as the day of her coming, concurs with the antecedent notice concerning "efter to morne," to refer this letter to Tueſday, the day after her arrival; to refer the ſixth letter to an earlier part of the ſame day; and to refer the fifth to Monday night, the night of her arrival. It thus diſproves all the intimations in letters fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh, of any large interval of time coming in betwixt her arrival and her return. It turns them all into proofs of forgery. And it gives us a very remarkable fact, in the cloſer adherence of one of the poſterior letters to the dates of the journal, as to Mary's preſent viſit, than of either of the prior; though it made ſuch an egregious deviation from it at the outſet, as to the time of Bothwell's divorce from Huntly's ſiſter.

(3) "Honour," Scotch; "amour," French.

(4) Bothwell's force was about eight hundred horſe *. Yet the letter deſires him to have rather over than under—three hundred. This therefore I conſider as an evidence of the forgery. Mary's

* Crawford, 19, ſays 800; Buchanan, Hiſt. xviii. 356, ſays 600; and yet a thouſand is the number in Goodall, i. 367, Robertſon, i. 417, Guthry's Scotch Hiſt. vii. 32, and Stuart, i. 216.

fears would have operated ſtronger than Bothwell's. If his made him raiſe eight hundred, hers would have ſuggeſted to him fifteen hundred or two thouſand. And ſhe was preſent with the three hundred, while he was at a diſtance from them, and yet knew their number as exactly as ſhe.

(5) "I go to wryte my diſpatche," Scotch; "je "m'en vay achever ma depeſche," French. "To "*wryte*," ſays Remarker *, "as if it had not been "written already." He therefore prefers the French "achever," to finiſh my diſpatch; as if ſhe was *going* from her preſent letter—in order to finiſh her preſent letter. The fact is, that "my diſ-"patche" does not mean the preſent letter at all. This is demonſtrably certain. What it does mean, I cannot ſay. And therefore I muſt conſider it as an abſurdity of forgery, the prints of ſand in this Birmingham coinage, which betray the place and the mode of its manufactory.

(6) This alſo ſhews, that Mary thought her letter would apprize Bothwell in time, to collect a larger number of horſe for the enterprize of Thurſday.

* P. 33.

VI.

§ VI.

LETTER THE EIGHTH (1).

I.—" My lord, gif the diſpleſure of zour ab-
" ſence, of zour forzetfulnes (2), the feir of dan-
" ger ſa promiſit be everie ane to zour ſa luifit per-
" ſone (3),"

I.—" Monſieur, ſi l'ennuy de voſtre abſence,
" celuy de voſtre oubly (2), la crainte du danger
" tant prouvé d'un chacun a voſtre tant aymée per-
" ſonne (3),"

" may gif me conſolatioun; I leif it to zow to juge:
" ſeing the unhap, that my cruell lot and con-
" tinuall miſadventure hes hitherto promyſit me;
" following ye misfortunes and feiris, as weill of
" lait, as of ane lang tyme bypaſt, the quhilk ze
" do knaw (4).

II.—" Bot for all that I will in na wiſe accuſe
" zow, nouther of zour lytill remembrance (5),

" nouther of zour lytill cair, and leiſt of all of " zour promeis brokin, or of ye cauldnes of zour " wryting (6), ſen I am ellis ſa far maid zouris, " yat yat quhilk pleiſis zow is acceptabill to me; " and my thochtis ar ſa willingly"

(1) This letter pretends alſo to be written from Stirling. *When* it pretends to be written, muſt be determined from ſome circumſtances in it.

(2) Bothwell was ſtill abſent and ſtill *forgetful*, it ſeems. Mary thus returns to the complaint of her firſt letter from Stirling. But ſhe has heard from him ſince that. This forgetfulneſs, therefore, muſt be of a later date. And it muſt of courſe be ſince ſhe wrote her laſt letter. But what forgetfulneſs could he poſſibly ſhew ſince this? It was written late on Tueſday. It could not reach Edinborough before Wedneſday. And on Wedneſday ſhe left Stirling. This therefore is another proof of the forgery.

(3) *Every one* then knew of the intended ſeizure. She ſaid before, that Huntly had " tald it." And now we find, that " everie ane" at Stirling was apprized of it, and talked of the danger which Bothwell would incur in the act. But let us attend the Remarker in his *laſt dying ſpeech*. " Of letter " VIII," he ſays, " there are only a few words re- " maining in the French; but, few as they are, " they have been miſunderſtood by the Scottiſh " *tranſlator* *." The preſent paſſage is accordingly

* P. 33.

produced

produced to prove the aſſertion. But the whole centers in one word, " promyſit," a *tranſlation* for " prouvé." Yet " prouvé" is obviouſly wrong, and " promyſit" is obviouſly right. Mary is not ſpeaking of danger *realized*, but *threatened*. Every one at Stirling tells her of this threatened danger. And this ſhe calls a *promiſed* danger, agreeably to the old uſe of the word, not, as now, confined to a good ſenſe only, but then free to admit either a good or a bad one; and agreeably alſo to her own uſe of it immediately afterwards, when ſhe ſpeaks of " the unhap that her cruell lot has hitherto *promyſit* " her."

(4) The French ended with my laſt note. The Remarker therefore has nothing more to do. Yet he ſtill finds a little buſineſs for himſelf. He can ſee the French original ſtill, by the dim reflection of the Scotch tranſlation. When the ſun is ſet, " the " moon takes up the wonderous tale." In " one " paſſage at leaſt of the Scottiſh copy, the French " word," when there is no French left, " ſeems to " have been miſunderſtood, "' following ye miſ-"' fortunes,"' inſtead of *according* to or *after the* " *form of*, ſuivant les malheurs." This is a very extraordinary mode of coming at the French original, by *diving after it* in the Scotch. But alas! he may

————dive into the bottom of the deep,
Where fathom-line could never touch the ground;

and yet will not be able to " pluck up this " drowned" original " by the locks." He has only

miſtaken the ſenſe here. The paſſage means merely, that Mary's cruel lot threatens her with unhappineſs, *following* her former misfortunes, that is, *in addition to them*.

I thus take my final leave of the Miſcellaneous Remarker. Who he is, I have not pretended to gueſs. The report of London, I underſtand, makes him to be Lord Hailes. But I know by experience the fallaciouſneſs of ſuch reports. This, I ſee, is peculiarly falſe. The Remarker * ſpeaks of his lordſhip in the following terms. "My "Lord Hales quotes a writing in his poſſeſſion, "which proves," &c. "See his *Remarks on the* "*Hiſtory of Scotland*, p. 167, a book little known, "in which the author IS ALTERNATELY A SCEPTIC "AND A DOGMATIST." This is not the language of a man concerning himſelf. And I have been ſince inſtructed to believe, that the author is the gentleman of Gray's Inn, who is well known for ſome controverſial writings; who particularly wielded his *leaded bludgeon* ſo remarkably againſt the Hiſtorian of Engliſh Poetry, and made it to fall with ſuch a *heavy*, and ſuch a *deciſive*, weight upon his head; who merits every commendation, for the extent of his reſearches and the depth of his knowledge, contraſted with the avocations of his profeſſion and the diſadvantages of his education; who has all the vigour of a man, that feels he can confide in himſelf; and who wants only the cool correctneſs, that only a regular education can

* P. 4.

furniſh.

furniſh. But I believe this information to be equally a miſtake, with that concerning Lord Hailes. Mr. R. I underſtand, is no Scotchman. He has certainly not been reſident of late in Scotland. Yet the author of the pamphlet is avowedly a Scotchman. And, as in one place he mentions what was "the old-faſhioned word within his me-"mory" for a watch in Scotland *; ſo in another he refers to "Records, B. 29, N° 285, and B. 30, "N° 572," though he "will not anſwer," he ſays, "for the accuracy of theſe references †;" and in a third place ‡ refers to the "Detection, i. 2 (or "p. 65)—a copy marked by Mr. Goodall as the "firſt edition" *in Engliſh*, and now, no doubt, in the advocates library at Edinborough. Nor is the work worthy of Mr. R. We have no appearance of Mr. Warton's antagoniſt in it. And I attribute it ſtill to ſome young Scotchman, who has been a pupil of Dr. Robertſon's, and who has ſtepped forward to teach before he has been properly taught himſelf.

(5) This is another touch concerning Bothwell's forgetfulneſs of Mary. And it ſerves with the others, to ſhew the violation of the chronology. Indeed this pair of lovers does in fact, what Lee's pair only wiſhes the Gods to do; and

> Annihilates both time and ſpace,
> To make two lovers happy.

(6) She has therefore heard from him ſince her

* P. 19. † P. 3. ‡ P. 2.

laſt. This laſt being written on Tueſday, the anſwer could not arrive before *Thurſday*. Yet ſhe left Stirling on Wedneſday. And, beſides this, there muſt be an interval of two or three days at leaſt, to allow for the forgetfulneſs. This will carry us to Saturday or Sunday, for the date of this letter. And yet ſhe was ſeized by Bothwell upon Thurſday.

" ſubdewit unto zouris, that I ſuppois yat all that " cummis of zow proceidis not be ony of the " cauſis foirſaid, bot rather for ſic as be juſt and " reſſonabill, and ſic as I deſyre myſelf. Quhilk is " the fynal order (1), that ze promyſſit to tak for " the ſuretie and honorabil ſervice of ye only up- " hald of my lyfe. For quhilk alone I will pre- " ſerve the ſame, and without the quhilk I deſyre " not bot ſuddane dēith.

III.—" And to teſtifie unto zow how lawly I " ſubmit me under zour commandementis, I have " ſend zow, in ſigne of homage, be Paris, the orna- " ment of the heid (2), quhilk is the chief gude of " the uther memberis; inferring thairby that, be " ye ſeiſing of zow in the poſſeſſioun of the ſpoile " of that quhilk is principall, the remnant cannot " be bot ſubject unto zow, and with conſenting of " the hart. In place quhairof, ſin I have ellis left " it unto zow (3), I ſend unto zow ane ſepulture " of

" of hard ſtane, collourit with blak, ſawin with " teiris and bones (4). The ſtane I compair to " my hart, that as it is carvit in ane ſure ſepulture " or harbor of zour commandementis, and, abone " all, of zour name and memorie that ar thairin in- " cloſit, as is"

(1) Here then let us look back to all the proceedings in this buſy period. Mary had been at Stirling *ſome days* before ſhe wrote the fifth letter, becauſe ſhe ſays Bothwell promiſed to ſend her word *every day*, and had not done ſo. This, as we know ſhe reached Stirling on Monday night, will carry us to Thurſday or Friday at leaſt. She *then* ſends off a letter to him. An anſwer could not come under a day and a half. Yet ſhe appears in the ſixth letter to have received one. And this ſixth, therefore, muſt be written on Saturday or Sunday. The next letter was written ſoon afterwards, on the ſame day probably. But the anſwer to either could not have reached her before Monday or Tueſday, in the week following. Yet ſhe has received an anſwer, when ſhe writes her eighth letter. She complains however of his " lytill re- " membrance," and of his " forzetfulnes." And, from both, the eighth letter cannot be written before Wedneſday or Thurſday. This however is her laſt. It was to produce Bothwell's " fynal " order." But that order could not reach her before Friday or Saturday. And thus long, by the letters, muſt ſhe be ſuppoſed to have ſtaid at Stirling.

ling. Yet ſhe reached Stirling on Monday, and left it on Wedneſday; riding thither on Monday from Edinborough, and riding back on Wedneſday to Linlithgow. She ſtaid only one whole day at Stirling. And this day the letters have cut and minced into ELEVEN at leaſt.

(2) What is this, that Mary ſends him? It is "the ornament of the heid." Of whoſe head? Of her own. She ſends it "in ſigne of homage;" "and that, by ſeiſing of him in the poſſeſſioun of "the ſpoile of that quhilk is principall, the rem-"nant cannot be bot ſubject unto him." It was one of *Mary's own head-dreſſes*, one of her own SCOTCH MOBS. This was ſurely a very ſtrange preſent for a man. And the letter-writer muſt have been compleatly infatuated, to think of ſuch a preſent for him.

(3) By her Will, I preſume ſhe means.

(4) This appears to be a ring, the ſtone of which was black in the ground, and repreſented a ſepulchre ſtrewed with bones and tears. But, to ſhew the eternal claſhing of falſhoods, the letters ſend the ring from Stirling in April, while Paris's ſecond confeſſion ſends it from the road betwixt Glaſgow and Kalendar, in the January preceding. "Elle reſcript une lettre, et y miſt dedans un an-"neau*."

* Goodall, ii. 78.

"my

" my hear [hair] in this ring, never to cum furth, " quhill deith grant unto zow tó ane trophee of " victorie of my banes; as the ring is fullit, in " ſigne that yow haif maid one full conqueis of " me, of myne hart, and unto yat my banes be left " unto yow in remembrance of your victorie, and " my acceptabill lufe and willing, for to be better " beſtowit then I merite (1). The ameling that " is about is blak, quhilk ſignifyis the ſteidfaſtnes " of hir that ſendis the ſame. The teiris ar without " number, ſa ar the dreddouris to diſpleis yow, the " teiris of your abſence, the diſdane that I cannot " be in outwart effect zouris, as I am without ſen- " zeitnes of hart and ſpreit; and of gude reſſoun, " thocht [though] my meritis wer mekle greiter " then of the maiſt profite that ever was, and ſic as " I deſyre to be, and ſall tak pane in conditiounis " to imitate, for to be beſtowit worthylie under your " regiment.

IV.—" My only wealth, reſſaif thairfoir in als " gude part ye ſame, as I have reſſavit your mar- " riage (2) with extreme joy, the quhilk ſall not " part furth of my boſum, quhill yat mariage of " our bodyis be maid in publict, as ſigne of all that " I outher hope or deſyris of blis in yis warld."

(1) What all this means, it is not eaſy to divine. " To" I ſuppoſe to be *too*. I have therefore

printed it " tó." The mention of " deith" ſhews " banes" to mean *bones*. And then the ſenſe, ſuch as it is, ſeems to be this: that ſhe ſends the ſtone as an emblem of her heart; that the ſtone, being carved into the form of a ſepulchre, repreſents her heart ſepulchred in his love; that his name and memory are incloſed in her heart as firmly, as her hair is in the ring; that they ſhall never part from her heart till ſhe dies; and that the ring is " fullit," either filled with the hair, or (as I rather think, and as we call the moon a *full* one, when it is quite round) is compleatly circular, in token of his full conqueſt of her till death.

All this is, as Dr. Robertſon obſerves very juſtly*, " much refined myſticiſm about devices, a folly " of that age; of which Mary," he adds, " was " very fond, as appears from ſeveral other circum- " ſtances, particularly from a letter concerning " *impreſas*, by Drummond of Hawthornden. If " Mary's adverſaries forged her letters," the Doctor proceeds to ſay, " they were certainly employed " very idly when they produced this." They certainly were. Mary, however fond of devices, could never have written ſuch nonſenſe as this about them. To be fond of devices, and to write with the folly of a driveler concerning them, are very diſtinct things; however the Doctor may chooſe to confound them. Homer ſometimes nods; but then his dreams are ſuperior, even to the waking thoughts of a Zoilus. And, when Mary conde-

* Diſſ. 34.

ſcends

ſcends to write upon "impreſas," ſhe will be found, I doubt not, to write like Mary. Some ſparks of elegant vivacity muſt be ſtruck off from her pen. But here the whole is unmeaning dulneſs. Nor is this all. There is a much greater abſurdity than this behind. Mary is made to indulge herſelf in theſe weak and ſilly ſpeculations, at a time when her head and heart muſt have been full of the great enterprize before her. The pretended ſeizure of her was to be attempted. She had ſome perſons in her retinue, who would rather die than ſuffer it. The commandant of her retinue was afraid of their reſolution, and trembled for the conſequences. It was her deciſive ſtroke for appropriating Bothwell to herſelf. On this critical incident hung the balance of her happineſs. And her heart muſt have been torn with hopes and fears. Yet this very period of her life, and the very laſt minute of this period, have the forgers choſen; to make her ſit down to her table in one ſtupid apathy of unconcern, to be unthinking of the moment of deciſion that was preſſing upon her, and to be wholly taken up in hunting ſome fantaſtical devices, in purſuing ſome imaginary reſemblances, in marking the courſe of a butterfly, or in gazing at the combinations of the clouds. And thus the woman, "all "whoſe ſenſations were exquiſite, and all her emo-"tions ſtrong *," becomes blunt in her ſenſations

* Robertſon, i. 386.—This touch of Mary's character, like a variety of other particulars, is all borrowed from Buchanan, 39, Anderſon, ii. and 251, Jebb, i.

and

and weak in her emotions, at the very inſtant when they would naturally have been moſt exquiſite and moſt ſtrong.

(2) This means the marriage-contract, as it is not to "part furth of her boſum." It muſt alſo mean the ſecond or large one; as the firſt was only ſigned by Mary, and would certainly be kept by Bothwell. Yet the ſecond was rather too large to be kept in a Queen's boſom. It would be too ample, even for a modern *bouquet*. And why ſhould Mary have it rather than Bothwell? It was ſigned by both. Indeed this and the other contract were actually kept by Bothwell, "as Jeſuits ſay, who "never lie." Murray, that *general of the order*, ſays ſo. Morton alſo, that *prime-aſſiſtant* to him, ſays the ſame. In their reſpective receipts for *their own* originals, they mention "ane ſilver box, overgilt "with gold, with the miſſive letteris, *contractis or* "*obligatiounis for marriage*," &c.; "quhilk box, "and haill pecis within the ſamin, wer takin and "fund with umquhill George Dalgleiſche, ſervand "to the Erle Bothville*." Bothwell therefore kept the two contracts. And the letter, which intimates Mary to have kept one of them, is as contrary to fact according to the rebels, as it is repugnant to reaſon in the opinion of others, and is proved by both to be a forgery.

* Appendix, N° iv.

V.—

V.—"Zit my hart feiring to diſpleis you as "mekle in the reiding heirof, as I delite me in ye "writing, I will mak end; efter t'iat I have kiſſit "zour handis with als greit affectioun, as I pray "God (o ye only uphald of my lyfe) to gif yow "lang and bliſſit lyfe, and to me zour gude favour, "as the only gude yat I deſyre, and to ye quhilk I "pretend.

VI.—"I have ſchawin unto this oeirer that "quhilk I have leirnit, to quhome I remit me, "knawand the credite that ze gaif him; as ſcho "dois, that will be for ever unto zow humbill and "obedient lauchfull wyfe, that for ever dedicates "unto zow hir hart, hir body, without ony change, "as unto him that I have maid poſſeſſour of hart; "of quhilk ze may hald zow aſſurit, yat unto ye "deith ſall na wayis be changeit, for evill nor gude "ſall never mak me go from it."

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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